

DC Gazette

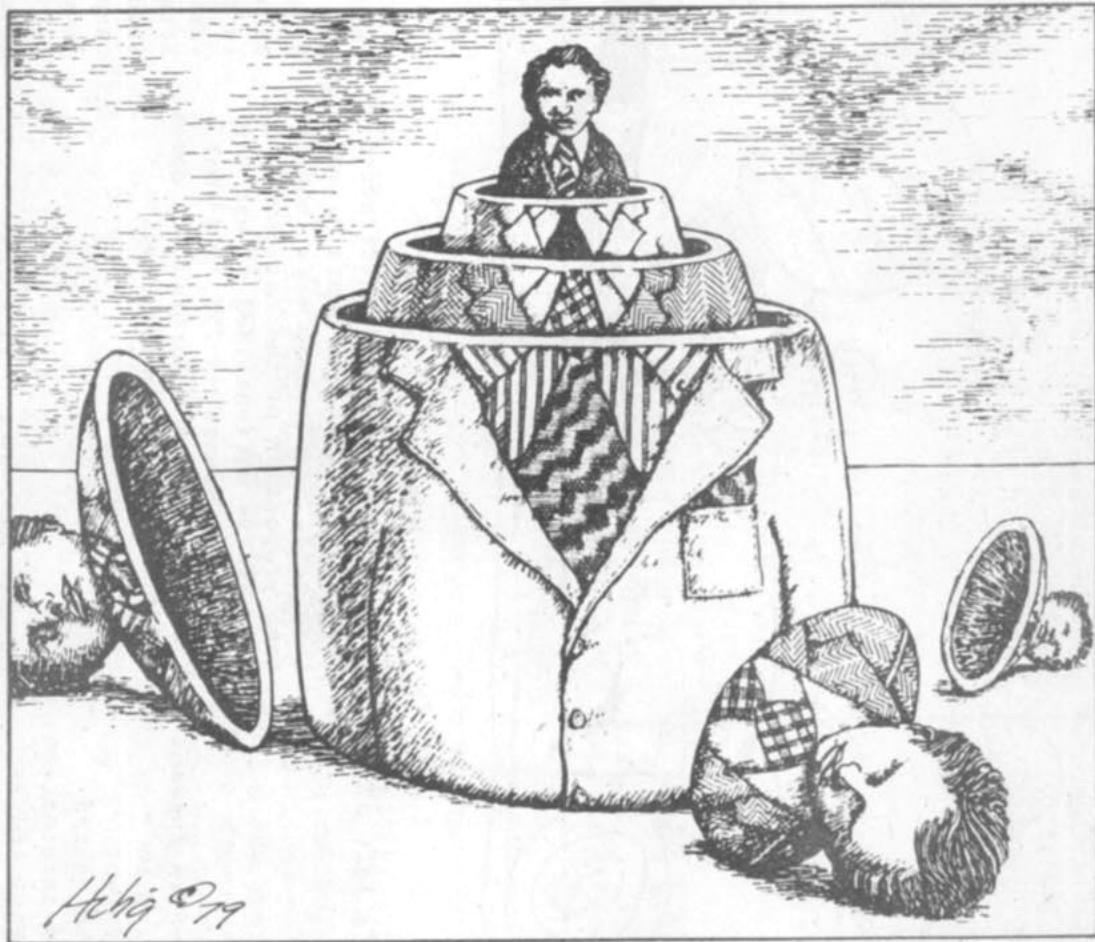
**The
Progressive
Review**

ONE DOLLAR

VOL XV NR 1

JANUARY 1984

Whole Number 236



'The Candidate' by Hubig

ANTI-NUKE DILEMMA

The Best of Congress

THE DC GAZETTE & The Progressive Review



What's going on here?

For some years now, most of the matter in the DC Gazette has not been about DC. The meat of this journal has been progressive politics and social issues of more than local interest. This shift was in part based on your editor's desire not to be type-cast forever as the world's leading authority on the Metro deficit, and in part on the hard reality that a once sizable market of locally-committed readers was noticeably drying up. As the city became more upscale, as they say in the advertising trade, and as croissants replaced Wonder Bread as the staff of local life, it became more and more difficult to find people with more than a passing interest in local politics of a progressive bent. In fact, it became more and more difficult for such people to rent or buy a place to live in DC. I sometimes think Washington's destiny is to become the capital of hustlers and beggars, with precious little in between.

The process has been a slow one. I have railed against it as best I could. Back in November 1980 I wrote a particularly sullen piece on the subject [see box] with which, I'm afraid, I still largely agree. Despite it, I retained enough knee-jerk optimism to keep plugging away, even going so far as to endorse Marion Barry for reelection despite his substantial contribution to the dubious social and economic changes in the city. In the wake of that mistake I

have spent a lot of time engaged in morose self-examination with which I will not bore you. But I did come to the realization that whatever is wrong with this city is not going to change in a hurry. The new political elite is involved in consolidating its mindless power and there is simply no meaningful opposition to this although there are still lots of lonely people doing what they can. The local political scene can be fairly divided into three camps: the hustlers, the apathetic and the defeated.

For a newspaper, this has implications beyond the philosophical and the last couple of years have been tough ones for the Gazette. I thought, over the Christmas holidays, of closing the act. But then it occurred to me that if the problem was that too many

The 'New' Washington

From the November 1980 edition of the DC Gazette:

Could you stop the renaissance of Washington a minute? I want to get off. I have to run down to People's and restock my inventory of Rolaids before reading one more article about how the city is being reborn, revived

(Please turn to page 2)

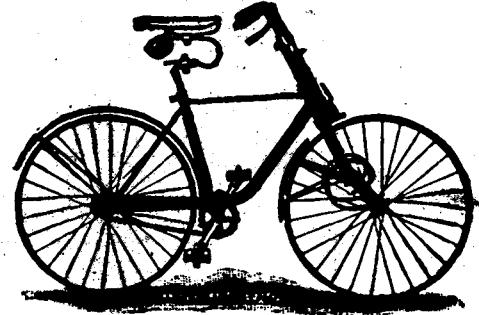
The new Washington cont'd

and revitalized. This city, the Paris of prevarication, the London of dissemblance, the Florence of deceit, has outdone itself; it is telling itself and the world that it is getting better.

Without a doubt, there is a new Washington, but it does not follow, as the Washintonian suggested recently, that the city is "coming of age." The very claim reflects regression in the maturity of self-perspective. And there certainly is no renaissance -- for that you need ideas. This town hasn't seen an idea of any magnitude since the anti-poverty program. To be sure, there is "cultural growth" but it is largely characterized by an artistic oligarchy, critical promiscuousness and growing indifference to indigenous creativity. The much touted physical changes of the city have produced little other than rampant displacement; creepy, creeping homogeneity and an overabundance of automatic teller machines. Washington's "greater sophistication" is virtually indistinguishable from rampant cynicism and mindless profligacy, and its autoerotic fascination with power

for its own sake threatens to prove that masturbation does cause insanity.

The real story of the new Washington is that the told story is a lie. Strip away the icons of progress -- Metro, the East Wing, the Kennedy Center, Neiman-Marcus and Pisces, and you will find a new Washington that is not vibrant; it merely vibrates. A Washington that is not more sophisticated because it comprehends and considers less. A Washington whose interest in culture is marked more by acquisition than by appreciation. And a Washington whose power is, in truth, declining because it has lost the key component of respect. The whole country and the world thumbs its nose at the Capital



of the Free World. It used to be that if you came to Washington from Peoria you'd be embarrassed to say so. Now it's the other way around.

The new Washington disdains nearly every contact with the city as a community and treats the place as part shopping mall and part Plato's Retreat for the ego. The new city is the one you read about in Style and Washington Life (the old city is stuck in the ghetto of the District Weekly -- a peculiar ghetto at that, since it is only open on Thursdays). It is the city of real estate dealers rather than merchants, the city where you damn well better not leave home without it, clone of Gotham, siren of scandal so tawdry that it has discredited political corruption, the city in which a day's work can consist of a memorandum revised, a two-hour quiche lorraine and martini lunch and four phone calls to say you're all tied up. The city in which never have so many been paid so much to do so little. The city that is ripping off the nation and only fooling itself. The city, (to improve the cliche) which in just two short decades has changed from a sleepy southern village to a catatonic northern metropolis...

good people were leaving town what the paper really should be doing is going after them. After all, the Gazette is one of the best sources of progressive political news you'll find in the country. But even though the Gazette has been mainly non-local for some time, its name has suggested the contrary.

It's not so much a matter of changing our image as of letting our image catch up with the reality. Over the next few months, with the gentle radicalism that is, I hope, a hallmark of this publication, the DC Gazette will be transmogrified into the Progressive Review, a name better fitting our editorial nature. This does not mean any change in editorial approach, which will continue to oscillate according to the whim of the editor as always. DC news will continue. It is merely an alteration in nomenclature.

I realize that this is not the best of times to be going around changing names what with the confusion over the telephone companies and all. I further realize that some of the most tradition-minded people you'll find are political progressives. Hence, the change will occur in the most non-authoritarian manner possible. At first, both names will be used and then you will find the "DC Gazette" getting smaller and smaller until it finally disappears into its own serifs.

The Gazette & Review

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We welcome articles and letters but unfortunately can not pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

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You may refer to the publication in the manner of your choosing and you will not be corrected or belittled. You can even write angry letters about it, although I doubt seriously that they will do much good. The moment I decided on a name change I felt the ~~body~~ juices flowing again and I started whistling, "We're off to see the Wizard, the wonderful Wizard of Oz." There is little these days that can produce such a remarkable effect and I don't want to lose it.

One final point: checks made out to either the DC Gazette or the Progressive Review will be honored indefinitely. --SAM SMITH

LWF SUPPORTS FREEZE: Taking a public stance on the issue of arms control for the first time, the League of Women Voters has announced its support for a bilateral verifiable freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

MATERNITY LEAVE: A new study by two Columbia University professors says that fewer than 40 percent of employed American women get a paid disability leave of six weeks or more after they give birth. Those employers who do provide leaves, according to the study, typically cut off the leaves after one or two weeks.

Says Professor Sheila Kamerman, a co-author of the study, "There is a general belief, since the Pregnancy Discrimination Act was passed in 1978, that all working women have protection." In fact, Kamerman says, only five states have temporary disability legislation. The five are New York, New Jersey, California, Rhode Island and Hawaii.

One hundred and seventeen nations provide maternity leave for employed women. In Europe, the minimum paid leave averages 14 weeks.

ENVIRONMENT STILL POPULAR: Pollster Lou Harris says nine out of ten voters favor keeping or strengthening current ecological safeguards. And, he says, a similar majority regard acid rain and hazardous waste disposal as serious problems.

THE WEATHER REPORT

GOOD GAP?: While some Reagan administration officials are going around saying that the gender gap is gone, White House pollster Cathy Chamberlain says it's actually a good thing. She points out that in the last four presidential elections the losing candidate got slightly more support from women. In the past the gender gap has ranged from one percent more women voting for George McGovern to seven percent more voting for Jimmy Carter in 1980. Reagan's gender has ranged between four and 17%.

VIETNAM CONT'D: A New York Times magazine article says that in a Vietnamese village sprayed with defoliants during the war, nearly fifty percent of women exposed to the chemicals suffered spontaneous abortions if they became pregnant. Vietnamese officials also reported a large -- but unquantified -- number of children with deformities.

POTTER ON POT: Former Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart says the idea of legalizing some recreational drugs "has a certain appeal to me." Stewart, who was appointed by President Eisenhower in 1958 and retired two years ago, says the sale and use of drugs is a serious social problem. So long as it's a criminal offense, he says, the business will be in the hands of the criminals.

THE HOMELESS: During the past year, according to the Community for Creative Non-violence, \$90 million was appropriated for overnight emergency shelter by the federal government. This amounts to less than two nights of shelter for each of the estimated 2.2 million homeless in this country.

CENSORSHIP ON HOLD: Reagan's incredible executive order that would require more than 128,000 government employees to agree to lifetime censorship a la the current restrictions on CIA ex-employees is on hold until April 15. Congress approved the moratorium thanks to a rider on a State Department money bill introduced by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. Mathias plans to hold hearings on the matter.

NUKE TOURISM: Tourism is mushrooming at the nation's nuclear power plants. Concerns over safety have actually boosted interest in visiting reactors. The Atomic Industrial Forum says plants played host to 1.5 million visitors last year. Even Pennsylvania's notorious Three Mile Island is attracting five times more tourists than it did before the 1979 accident.

HEALTH, WEALTH & COCAINE: A new study of cocaine has found that of 200 cocaine abusers in the New York City area, 79 percent suffer from depression, 43 percent from a loss of sex drive and 59 percent reported a general deterioration of their health. The study also found that 55 percent used at least half their life savings to buy coke and 25 percent stole.

ATTACK ON ABORTION CLINIC: The laboratory of an

Everett, Washington, abortion clinic, which has been picketed since August by anti-abortionists, was destroyed last month in a blaze of suspicious origin.

PEACE DIDN'T SELL: The Hallmark card people report that peace themes, big during the Vietnam War years, have faced declining interest among Christmas card buyers over the past five years. Says a Hallmark official, "That word as a whole has not done well as a primary piece of subject matter." What with the arms race, and the US military involvement in Lebanon and Central America, however, the word "peace" may return for the 1985 season. The 1984 line has already been designed around the theme, "cheer."

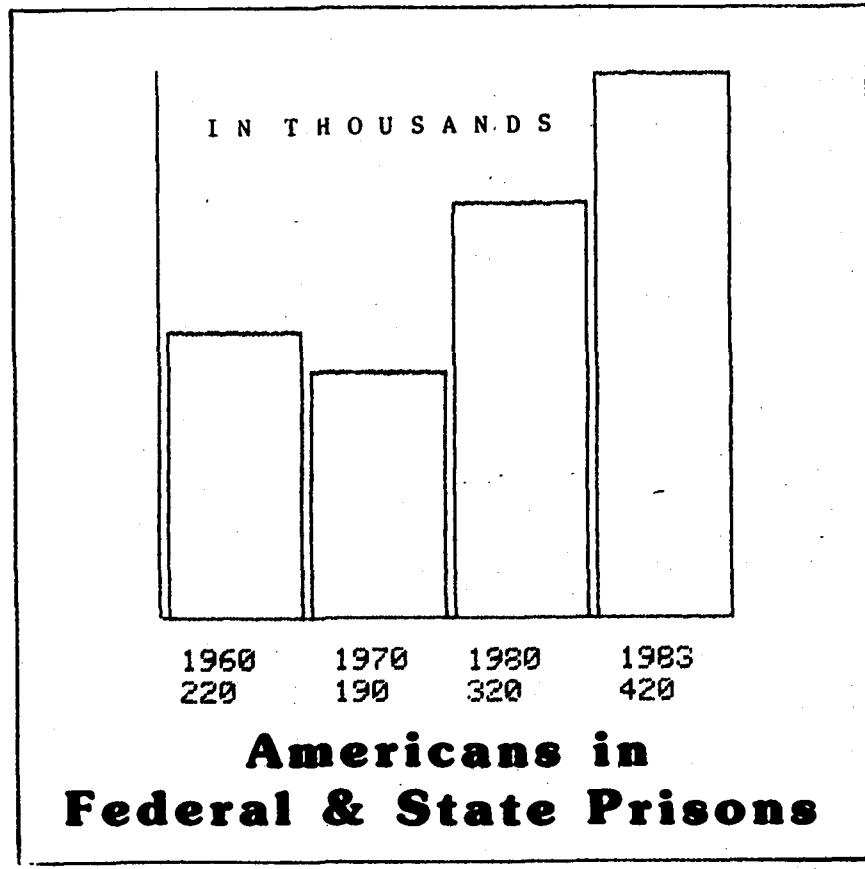
COMPARABLE PAY DECISION: In a sweeping decision, a federal judge in Washington state has ordered pay raises and back pay for 15,000 state workers to bring pay scales in female-dominated job categories up to levels of those in male-dominated ones. The decision by Judge Jack Tanner is expected to cost the state \$73 million. Most of those receiving pay hikes will be women clerical workers.

LSD COMES BACK: The Drug Enforcement Administration says LSD is making a comeback. After fading for the past decade, seizures of LSD are mounting rapidly. The DEA seized 5 million tabs of acid this year, four times as many as in 1982. The hot spots seem to be Chicago, Boston, Houston, Dallas, Miami and New York. The renewed popularity may be related to the price of the drug: \$3 a hit while marijuana's price has doubled in the past year.

DOOMSDAY CLOCK MOVES FORWARD: The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists has moved its "doomsday clock" to three minutes of midnight in its January issue, the closest it's been since 1953 after the Soviet Union exploded its first hydrogen bomb. The clock has appeared on the cover of every issue since 1947.

SUIT ON VISAS: The ACLU is preparing a suit against the Reagan administration over its denial of visas to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Thomas Borge and Salvadoran president Roberto D'Aubisson. The denials were based on a section of the federal immigration law which allows for denial in cases of "aliens who *** seek to enter the US *** to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the United States." Other recent denials include those of Hortensia de Allende, widow of the assassinated president of Chile, and Nino Pasti, a retired Italian general who has been a critic of NATO INF deployment.

REAGAN'S JUDGES: According to a study by Congressional Quarterly, all but 17 of Reagan's judgeship appointments



have gone to white males. He has appointed 123 judges. Jimmy Carter, in his first three years as president appointed 166 judges -- 29 were women, 26 were black and 9 were Hispanic.

GAY RIGHTS IN NY: NY governor Marion Cuomo has issued an executive order aimed at ending anti-gay bias in state employment and in the provision of state services and benefits.

CRIME DOWN: FEAR UP: Crime rates have dropped across the country, according to both the FBI Crime Index figures and the National Crime Survey victimization studies of the Justice Department. The FBI figures indicate a four percent drop in 1982; the NCS figures show a 4.1 percent drop. Meanwhile people's fear of crime is increasing. Edwin Meese, presidential aide, cited several recent studies which found that nearly 70 percent of Americans feel crime is increasing in their area, 45 percent are afraid to walk alone at night and 16 percent feel unsafe in their homes.

BIG TURNOUT IN '84?: The Committee for the Study of the American Electorate reports that voter turnout in the 1982 elections was the highest for any off year since the late 1960s. This could mean another big turnout in 1984, ending a 20-year decline in presidential election participation. Says Curtis Gans, director of the committee, "It seems clear that the Reagan administration has had both a polarizing and mobilizing effect among already-registered voters. Voter participation was up in every region of the country." Voter registration, interestingly, did not increase.

RALPH NADER TURNS TO SEXISM: Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law has published a book called Women Take Charge with some new data on the economic hardships of women. The average working woman spends over \$500 a year on clothes, twice as much as men. Men are three times as likely to receive pension benefits. Women are twice as likely to be given prescriptions for mood-altering drugs. And a Washington podiatrist says 90 percent of his patients are women, and most of their problems are shoe-related.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN NEW JERSEY: Statistics released last month show that more than 18,000 cases of domestic violence were reported in New Jersey during the first nine months of 1983. Women were the victims of the violence in 86 percent of the cases.

INFANT FORMULA STUDY: A report released last month by the United Nations Children Fund says that the infant death rate at Baghio General Hospital in the Phillipines dropped by a striking 95 percent after that facility banned bottle-feeding. Incidents of infant diarrhea also dropped -- by 93 percent -- after the ban. UNICEF described the magnitude of the results as "startling."

THE POOR AND HEALTH CARE: A study by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation finds that poverty keeps one American in eight from receiving adequate health care. The survey says that one million families were denied medical

POLITICAL SPENDING: Advertising Age reports that the Democratic contenders for the presidential nomination will probably spend more than \$60 million in their efforts to gain the bid and that the ad bill for the general election will top \$1 billion.

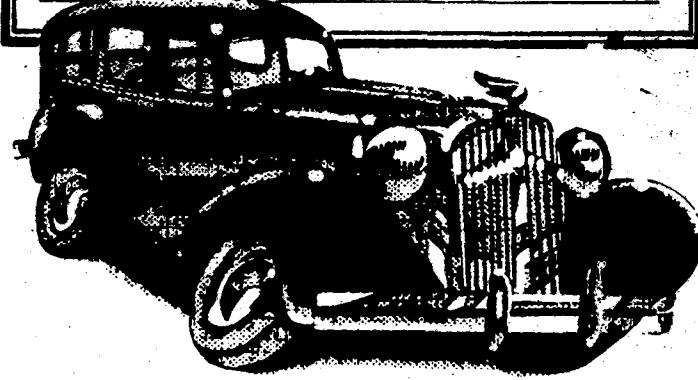
EXCESS ADMIRALS: Back in World War II the Navy had one admiral for every 130 ships. Today the figure is one admiral for every two ships. A study by the Project for Military Procurement suggests that most of this brass is used for PR and gofering.

THE CANDIDATES AND GAY RIGHTS: The Gay Rights National Lobby reports that Ernest Hollings, Walter Mondale, Alan Cranston and Jesse Jackson have all made specific endorsements of gay rights. John Glenn has said that 'I do not feel that it is appropriate for the federal government to extend the reach of *** the Civil Rights Act into areas of personal behavior.' Glenn did not express opposition, however, to that section of the act that provides protection for religious beliefs.

SUPER PARDON: In a highly unusual move, a federal appeals court has purged all criminal records from the files of Mark Felt, once the FBI's number two man, and of Edward Miller, former head of the bureau's domestic intelligence division. Both were convicted three years ago of authorizing illegal searches during the hunt for members of the radical weather underground in the early seventies. President Reagan pardoned them six months later, but the court move means they now can claim they have never even been indicted for a crime.

Common Sense is Florida's oldest (est. 1974) and leading libertarian newsletter and is published 6 times a year at an annual subscription rate of eight dollars per year, for libertarians and other friends of liberty. Sample issue available \$1.00. Please send all correspondence and subscriptions to Common Sense/LPDC, P.O. Box 650051, Miami, Florida 33165.

THE CLASSIFIEDS



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attention for financial reasons in 1982. The majority were poor blacks and Hispanics and one-third were unemployed. The study also said that the poor and jobless have "dramatically more illnesses. The jobless, in fact, have twice as many serious diseases as working Americans."

WHO'S AFRAID OF BIG BROTHER: Pollster Lou Harris says 70 percent of the public fears Uncle Sam is snooping on them right now. On the other hand, an equal percentage of the nation's elite -- including politicians, educators and corporate officials, pooh-pooh the idea.

MA BELL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: Civil libertarians are saying that the new pay-by-the-call pricing option offered by local phone companies represents a giant step backward for personal privacy. The reason: they're now keeping computer records of every call -- local and long distance -- you make. And all these records are subject to subpoena. AT&T says roughly 20,000 individual phone records are turned over the IRS, law enforcement agencies, even divorce lawyers, every year. As one attorney puts it, "The implications are staggering. Who you call gives somebody more

information about your business, social, political and religious affiliations than any other piece of information. All our constitutional liberties are lost once somebody gets a hold of those records."

CREDIT CAR FOR THE BUS: Residents of Haverhill, Mass., don't have to worry about exact change for the bus. They just flash their credit cards. The local transit authority has issued its own cards. Electronic scanners mounted next to the fare boxes record the date, time, account number and route each time the card is used. Riders get an itemized statement at the end of each month.

NAACP FORCED TO CUTBACK: Facing a \$900,000 deficit for last year, the NAACP is making "very heavy" cuts in staff and programs, according to executive director Benjamin Hooks. Calling 1983 "the most difficult fund-raising year" in two decades, Hook said the problem stemmed from the internal battles of the organization and a 7 percent drop in corporate donations following a 25% drop in 1982.

(Please turn to page 22)

Paul Krassner's Predictions for 1984

Although Larry Flynt has withdrawn from the presidential race, he will influence the outcome of the election by releasing a secret film of Ed Meese eating naked in a soup kitchen.

The CIA will bring about the total destabilization of the Lebanese government just in time for Ronald Reagan to bring back the marines so they can vote for him.

Paul McCartney, who has previously recorded songs first with Stevie Wonder and then with Michael Jackson, will make his next rock video with Mr. T, plus a cameo appearance by Nancy Reagan and the El Salvador Death Squad.

There will be an unsuccessful kamikaze attack against the president, and Jimmy Hoffa's body will finally be found inside one of the concrete barricades in front of the White House.

John Hinckley will grant an exclusive interview to the Washington Post in which he will come out against the insanity defense.

Pope John Paul II will travel to America and publicly forgive the manufacturer of contraceptive sponges.

Sirhan Sirhan will once again be denied parole. However, he will be transferred to Walla Walla.

Terrorists in Grenada will put Extra-Strength Tylenol into cans of nutmeg scheduled for export.

As a result of the Korean Airlines disaster, passengers will be asked whether they prefer planes with spying or non-spying.

Security forces at the Olympics will accuse kidnappers from Iran and snipers from Syria of being treated with steroids.

Fidel Castro will write a scathing review of 'Scarface' for 'American Film' magazine.

Jennifer Beals will accidentally break her arm while removing a bra from under her sweatshirt.

Ringo Starr will play the title role in a TV mini-series about Yasir Arafat.

Barbra Streisand will write, produce and direct a film about cocaine use, to be titled 'Nostri.'

Henry Winkler and Tom Cruise will start an organization for middle class white boys whose families wish for them to become mature as a result of operating prostitution rings. It will be known as Wimps into Pimps.

Paul Simon will break off all ties with Art Garfunkel and team up with Eddie Fisher instead.

Jackie Onassis and Caroline Kennedy will have a double wedding.

Jean Harris will write a bestselling book, 'The Prison Diet.'

The National Enquirer will hire a special public relations taskforce whose sole function will be to turn anonymous individuals into public figures and then libel them.

Frank Sinatra will buy the American Civil Liberties Union and turn it into a condominium.

Bob Hope will have a very busy year, entertaining the troops in Detroit, Miami, and Washington, DC.

Johnny Carson, who always introduces embarrassing questions to his guests with 'Somebody told me...' will inadvertently reveal his main source when he invites Jesse Jackson on the Tonight Show and Jackson announces, 'I am Somebody.'

David Letterman will fall head over heels in love with a prominent feminist and legally change his name to David Letterperson.

Dan Rather will have an encounter with a creature from an Unidentified Flying Object, but he will not tell anybody for fear of losing his professional credibility.

A devastating series of earthquakes will convert the Me Generation into the Uh-Oh Generation.

Gloria Steinem will convince Mariel Hemingway to have her breast implants removed.

Women will be drafted for combat duty in Nicaragua, but they will only receive two-thirds of the pay that male soldiers get.

Conspicuous consumption will increase in the homosexual community as more and more wealthy gays go out and get vasectomies.

British rock star Boy-George will open a Hollywood night club and call it the G-Spot.

The period between Thanksgiving and Christmas will be officially proclaimed the Holiday Shopping Season.

Congress will pass a law that will permit adopted Cabbage Patch Kids to trace back their original parents.

An unpublished manuscript by George Orwell will be discovered, wherein he confesses his fear that although '1984' was intended as warning, government leaders would utilize it as a blueprint.

An expensive new telephone will go on the market. It will have a built-in voice-print unit so that the owner may determine which callers are lying.

The Kerr-McGee Company, which accused Karen Silkwood of deliberately eating plutonium in order to make them look bad, will charge that she deliberately drove her own car off a cliff in order to make them look really bad.

Carl Sagan will make billions and billions of dollars with a new 'Morning After the Day After' pill.

In a move that will cause shock waves throughout the advertising world, Proctor & Gamble will once again feature porno star Marilyn Chambers on their boxes of Ivory Snow. Increased sales will justify their next move, substituting John Holmes for Mr. Clean.

Dandruff will become a major gasoline substitute on America's freeways.

The Aroma Disc Player industry will expand into X-rated smells.

With the aid of computers, John Lilly will be able to bring about an evolutionary jump in inter-species communication, specifically with a dolphin whose first words will be, 'Tuna on rye, please.'

WHO'S GOT THE BUTTON?

Nuclear predelegation

BY JOHN HANRAHAN

The phrase "finger on the button" conjures up in many Americans' minds the image of a red phone on the president's desk, an emergency warning about a nuclear alert and the president's call to authorize U.S. forces to use nuclear weapons. Although most probably know the president would not literally push a button, many Americans probably assume it is the president alone who controls this nation's use of nuclear weapons. Many envision a similar scenario unfolding in Moscow.

But an investigation by *Common Cause Magazine* discloses that the authority to use nuclear weapons has not been kept exclusively by presidents in the past but has been predelegated by various presidents for use under specific circumstances to certain U.S. military commanders—some of whom in turn may have had the authority to delegate it even further down the chain of command.

The White House, the Defense Department and other government agencies either would not comment on the issue of predelegation to *Common Cause Magazine*, or else maintained that it does not exist today.

A Pentagon spokesperson told *Common Cause Magazine* that today no U.S. military command has any predelegated nuclear authority, and he would not confirm or deny that it has been predelegated in the past. "The authority must be requested from the president," the spokesperson says. "Beyond that, we just don't discuss it." An Arms Control and Disarmament Agency spokesperson says that any former U.S. military or government official who claims predelegation existed in the past, or exists today, "is just blowing smoke."

Despite the disclaimers, a number of people interviewed for this article said that, based on what they know of previous instances, they would assume that some form of predelegation remains in effect today. Others said they were convinced it does not.

But regardless, the issue raises a number of important questions. Among them: Should Congress and the public be informed when predelegation exists? Put another way, since the firing of nuclear weapons could be tantamount to declaring war, and since only Congress has the authority to declare war, should certain committees, or key Members of Congress, be part of determining the policy of predelegation?

Rep. Norman Dicks (D-Wash.) believes it is vital that the public and Congress be informed when a president predelegates his nuclear authority. "It's a fundamental issue, it should be publicly debated," Dicks says.

Rep. Joseph Addabbo (D-N.Y.), chairman of the defense subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, says he does not think it is widely known in Congress that the nuclear authority appears to have been predelegated to military commanders in the past.

Addabbo says Congress should "definitely be told about it" if such authority has been predelegated, "because whoever has authority over nuclear

weapons has the power to start World War III." He said the defense appropriations subcommittee, which he chairs, would add the issue to the agenda for its January hearings.

On the other side, a government official who didn't wish to be named says ambiguity over predelegation is vital as a deterrent to the Soviets. The secret—whether there is or isn't predelegation at a certain time—should not be made public, or even confided privately to Members of Congress—"because Congress would leak the information."

In the past, a congressional subcommittee held hearings on efforts to get the U.S. to renounce first use of nuclear weapons. Predelegation was discussed at those hearings, but it was not the main focus.

According to those hearings, published accounts and interviews with former U.S. military and government officials, presidents have granted some types of predelegation as early as 1950 and continuing up through the mid-1970s—if not beyond.

Such predelegation, according to these sources, has involved both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

- In 1950, during the Korean War, President Truman said at a press conference that the atomic bomb was being considered for possible use in Korea after the Chinese had intervened there.

As for potential targets, Truman said, "It's a matter that the military people will have to decide. I'm not a military authority that passes on those things. The military commander in the field will have charge of the use of the weapons, as he always has."

- In interviews with reporters in 1957 and 1958, Gen. Earle Partridge, former North American Aerospace Defense (NORAD) commander, said that NORAD had been predelegated the authority to order the firing of nuclear weapons without the president's approval. Partridge said President Eisenhower had "given his approval to use, without reference to anybody, any weapons at our disposal if there is a hostile aircraft in the [detection and warning] system." Partridge did not specify the type of nuclear weapons that he had at his disposal.

- Almost 20 years later, in 1976, retired Navy Vice Adm. Gerald Miller testified at a congressional hearing that the NORAD commander at that time still had the predelegated authority to order the use of nuclear weapons, "only under severe restrictions and severe conditions of attack," without first having to check with the president. (NORAD is responsible for receiving information from various warning systems to alert the Pentagon and military commanders of possible enemy attack.)

- Some published accounts have said Gen. Lauris Norstad, who had previously served as commander of U.S. forces in Europe, had prior authority during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis to use nuclear weapons without first checking with the president—in the event the Soviet Union had attacked Western Europe at that time. Norstad refused to comment to *Common Cause Magazine*.

- Daniel Ellsberg, former defense planner who achieved fame a decade ago as the man who leaked the Pentagon Papers to *The New York Times*, says Presi-

dents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson all had predelegated nuclear authority to top military commanders.

Ellsberg says he learned of the predelegation while serving as a consultant to the White House and the Defense Department on nuclear war planning and nuclear command and control between 1959 and 1964. Among those given such authority, according to Ellsberg, were the Pacific, European and Strategic Air Command (SAC) commanders. (SAC is the command which oversees and sends into action the nuclear weapons-equipped bombers and land-based nuclear missiles.)

In addition to the actual predelegation of nuclear authority to military commanders, there is the related issue that U.S. submarines carrying nuclear weapons today have the equivalent of predelegated authority in terms of physical capability to launch their missiles without the elaborate safeguards that bombers and land-based missiles have.

Because of the high degree of secrecy surrounding this issue in the Soviet Union, it is extremely difficult to know who has the authority there to fire nuclear weapons. Published accounts indicate that the authority to order the firing of nuclear weapons apparently is not centered as much in one individual as it is in the United States, but rather rests with the Politburo, the Communist Party's ruling body, and the Defense Council, a unit comparable to the National Security Council in the United States.

According to published accounts and interviews with a number of Soviet scholars and journalists based outside the USSR, it does not appear that this authority has been subdelegated to military commanders—although, again, this is open to doubt.

The issue of predelegation is especially important in the context of a number of other concerns over nuclear weapons. Although neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has ever fired nuclear weapons at one another, there have been events that have caused some worry. For example, there were three public reports of U.S. bombers carrying hydrogen bombs crashing back in the 1960s; of U.S. warning systems indicating incoming missiles—when what was really being picked up was a flock of geese and the rising of the moon; of a computer chip failure that caused commanders to ready bombers for takeoff as if the U.S. were under nuclear attack.

On the Soviet side, such incidents are even more shrouded in secrecy than they are in the U.S. One such apparent incident, though, was reported by Richard Nixon in his book, *Six Crises*. Nixon wrote that in 1959 when, as vice president, he went to the Soviet Union, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev told him that earlier in the year the engine cutoff system in an intercontinental ballistic missile "had failed and the rocket had overshot its course and headed toward Alaska." Khrushchev reportedly maintained the missile "had not contained a warhead," but he had "feared a 'fuss' if the missile had landed in Alaska." Fortunately, Nixon wrote, the missile fell into the ocean.

Despite these incidents, the main

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concern among many students of arms control today is not so much over a computer malfunction triggering a nuclear war, or the Soviet Union launching a "bolt out of the blue" surprise attack, or a deranged president or an insane general sending the missiles and bombers to Moscow.

Rather, as Yale political science Prof. Paul Bracken, author of the recently published book, *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces*, told *Common Cause Magazine*, although "much can be made of the *Dr. Strangelove* scenarios," a nuclear war is more likely to start because the United States and the Soviet Union "step by step take actions which they perceive will improve their security." But each side could view the actions of the other as more threatening, thus triggering the nuclear war both sides sought to avoid.

It is in precisely such escalating situations, say many critics, that predelegation of nuclear authority could be especially dangerous.

From the United States' standpoint, the logic for some predelegation of nuclear authority is strong, according to some military commanders and civilian experts.

For example, Gen. Nathan Twining, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a four-star general, wrote in 1966 that it is "just plain common sense" to predelegate the nuclear authority "in the event of certain circumstances"—i.e., a heavy nuclear attack on the United States, the destruction of Washington, D.C. and the death of the nation's leaders, or a loss of communications between Washington and military forces during such a crisis.

But some other experts see it differently.

"It would be terrifying," Paul Warnke told *Common Cause Magazine*, if either the United States or Soviet Union predelegated the nuclear firing authority to battlefield commanders.

Warnke, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief negotiator for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) in 1977-1978, says that under the stress of battlefield conditions, military commanders might act rashly and use nuclear weapons—and thereby escalate a conflict out of control.

While assuming that predelegation probably is not a current policy, Warnke was unaware that predelegation has apparently been a policy in the past.

Chaplin Morrison, congressional lobbyist for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, says predelegation of authority to use either tactical or strategic nuclear weapons is "an especially dangerous concept" because it could cause a local conventional battle to escalate to a nuclear one, and a local nuclear battle in turn to escalate to all-out nuclear war—as in the recent television movie, *The Day After*.

• • • •

Although some Members of Congress and the arms control community have in the past expressed concerns about predelegation of nuclear authority, the president clearly has the constitutional and legal authority to do it, according to a number of scholars and researchers.

A comprehensive report by the Congressional Research Service (CRS), prepared at the request of the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee as the basis for hearings in 1976, noted that the president can delegate his authority over nuclear weapons to subordinate officers within the chain of command "virtually without limitation." According to the Pentagon and various congressional offices, this is still the case.

Further, although Congress alone has the constitutional power to declare war, it appears to have no role in the decision by the commander in chief (the president) to use or not use nuclear weapons.

pons—a decision which, in effect, could amount to a presidential declaration of war.

If the United States were ever attacked with nuclear weapons, of course, there probably would not be enough time for the president to consult with Congress on whether to retaliate, and to what degree, given the 10- to 30-minute flight time to the United States of missiles launched by Soviet submarines off the U.S. East Coast or from the Soviet Union.

One congressional panel—a subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee—considered the issue in 1976 hearings on "no first use" of nuclear weapons, but there was no major legislative followup.

At those 1976 hearings, some Members and witnesses expressed concerns that the finger on the nuclear trigger may not, as the public believes, be exclusively that of the president but also those of some military commanders.

Among those, Rep. Richard Ottinger (D-N.Y.) wondered about the adequacy of protections against commanders with predelegated authority "acting by error or becoming disabled" and using the authority unwisely. He also was concerned about military commanders "deciding that it is in their own interest in a higher cause to set off nuclear weapons in their sense of what it takes to preserve freedom."

At the same hearings, Vice Adm. Gerald Miller, former deputy director of the Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff, the Pentagon unit responsible for developing the nation's strategic nuclear warfare plans, testified that nuclear authority had in the past been granted to NORAD. Miller said that at that point NORAD still had such authority.

Miller testified that the nuclear weapons systems predelegated to the NORAD commander were "low in yield, purely defensive in nature" and would be used "in response to a threat of 'first use' by the opposition and under actual war conditions."

The authority had been initially predelegated to NORAD, Miller testified, at a time when U.S. warning systems were less sophisticated, and when there was "concern about being able to respond rapidly enough" to an enemy nuclear attack.

Despite such past delegation of nuclear authority to NORAD, Miller testified that he could not "visualize any situation where the United States, or a NATO commander involved with U.S. nuclear weapons, would use these weapons without presidential authority."

Pentagon representatives refused to discuss in public session at those 1976 hearings the issue of predelegation.

In a later congressional hearing, Rep. Norman Dicks (D-Wash.) disclosed in mid-1982 that, in a series of secret briefings with Members of Congress, U.S. Army officials had said that they wanted "pre-clearance" authority from the president for using tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

Such predelegation is necessary, Army officials said, because under existing chain of command procedures, up to 24 hours could elapse between a field commander's request to use tactical nuclear weapons and the president's go-ahead. Army officials apparently were concerned about a situation in which Soviet troops would invade Western Europe and be overrunning allied forces—and the only way to save the situation would be to use tactical nuclear weapons.

In one of the remarks left in the highly censored, declassified transcript, Maj. Gen. Niles Fulwyler, director of the Army's nuclear and chemical office, said that "it would be much simpler to plan for that battle [i.e., a Soviet attack on Western Europe] and take care of it if we had predelegation, for obvious reasons."

Other information concerning predelegation—by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—was provided by Daniel Ellsberg at a 1977 press conference on the issue, and then was con-

firmed by him in a recent interview with *Common Cause Magazine*.

Ellsberg says that in 1961 he learned of the existence of signed letter from President Kennedy authorizing six or seven top military commanders—of the rank of three- and four-star generals—to use nuclear weapons under certain emergency conditions without first receiving permission from the president. The authorization applied to nuclear weapons under these officers' commands—which would cover both tactical and strategic weapons.

Ellsberg says he did not himself read the letters, but was shown a folder containing the letters and was informed of their contents by Carl Keysen, an aide to McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's special assistant for national security affairs.

The letters, Ellsberg says he was told, gave certain U.S. commanders—including the Pacific, European and the Strategic Air Command (SAC) commanders—authority to use the weapons without checking with the president.

Ellsberg says Keysen told him that President Eisenhower had predelegated nuclear authority for use in certain crisis situations. Later, while talking to Pentagon officials in 1964, Ellsberg says he learned that President Johnson had likewise predelegated nuclear authority to some top military commanders. Today Keysen refuses to discuss the subject; his secretary said: "He received your message and is not interested in discussing the subject...at all."

Ellsberg recalls that the commanders could use the weapons under certain conditions: in retaliation in the event of a sudden, massive enemy nuclear attack on the United States, when it was known that the president had been killed during such an attack, or when communications with the president were cut off in a crisis situation.

Predelegation to top military officers, of course, raises an even more worrisome problem—the possibility that those top officers could, in turn, predelegate the nuclear authority to even lower ranking officers, thereby even further eroding the concept of presidential control of nuclear weapons.

Ellsberg says that, through interviews he had had with high level and lower ranking military officers in the early 1960s, he had learned that the Pacific forces commander had indeed subdelegated the nuclear authority at that time, and that other commanders had subdelegated the authority to officers ranking as low as major.

"I'm not as concerned with the authority being delegated to a four-star general as I am with that general in turn subdelegating the authority," Ellsberg says. There have to be contingency plans in the event something happens to the president in a crisis situation, he says, but the danger is in subdelegating the power to lower level commanders who could trigger a nuclear war while others at higher levels are taking steps to avoid one.

Aside from Ellsberg, we could find no other government or former government official who has talked of widespread predelegation. Adm. Miller, in his 1976 congressional testimony disclosing that NORAD had received predelegated authority, said he knew of no other instance "where any authority has ever been delegated for the use of nuclear weapons" by the president. In answer to a followup question as to whether the authority could have been delegated without his knowing it, Miller answered: "It could have been; yes."

• • • •

In addition to the president and his designees—who may be the only ones with the actual authority to initiate the use of nuclear forces—there are in the United States alone some 14,000 other people (ranging from bomber pilots, to submarine crews, to ground-based personnel in missile launch control centers)

whose fingers are just a direct order away from being authorized to push the button.

Those fingers near the nuclear triggers control 3.5 tons of TNT for every person on the face of the earth—that's 5,000 times greater than all the munitions exploded in World War II. A single U.S. nuclear weapon-equipped submarine has more deadly capacity than all of the conventional bombs exploded by U.S. military forces during World War II.

And it is those submarines that most trouble some critics of U.S. nuclear weapons policy. The Navy has on its nuclear weapon-equipped submarines safeguards that are similar to those for the Air Force's underground missiles and bombers and are designed to protect against an accidental U.S. nuclear attack or against a conspiracy to use the weapons without authorization. But a number of arms control authorities are skeptical as to how effective such submarine safeguards would be—especially in times of crisis.

The procedure on a submarine is supposed to work this way: A nuclear weapon launch order is passed down from the president through the chain of command, received by a radio operator aboard the submarine, then decoded by one officer and confirmed by another.

After the order is verified, a procedure similar to that in the Air Force's underground launch control centers begins. Two officers, each having one of the two combinations, open a double safe and obtain two keys needed for the launch process. (The captain does not have access to either of the combinations.) The officers then give one of the keys to the captain, and the other to another officer; both keys are then inserted into control boxes at two different positions on the submarine.

In various other parts of the submarine, other switches have to be pulled to complete the launch process. If, in this process, just one of the authorized persons refuses to do his job, the missiles cannot be fired.

Because submarines are more susceptible than land-based missile control centers and bombers to interruptions in communications with national command authorities (i.e., the president, the secretary of Defense or their designees), a number of students of nuclear weapons speculate that some submarine captains may have been predelegated—or could be predelegated on extremely short notice—the authority to launch nuclear weapons on their own in certain emergency situations.

Other critics express concerns that, while there may not be actual predelegation, submarine crews could nevertheless take it upon themselves in times of crisis to launch their weapons. This is because, unlike the ground-based launch control centers and bombers, the submarines do not have the kind of elaborate safeguards that bombers and land-based missiles have to physically bar them from launching their missiles. The only thing standing in the way are internal controls—the sanity and loyalty of the captain and his top officers. Submarines—unlike the bombers and land-based missiles which have outside controls—are thus viewed as having the equivalent of predelegation by some authorities on nuclear issues.

Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists, is one student of nuclear policy who feels the president would, facing an imminent threat of nuclear war, at that point pre-authorize submarines to launch nuclear missiles, without a direct presidential order, in situations where communications have been cut off and the nation's top civilian and military leaders are presumed dead.

Others having firsthand experience with U.S. nuclear policy share some of Stone's concerns.

"Submarines are physically capable of launching their missiles any time they

want to," says retired Navy Capt. James Bush, a former captain of a nuclear weapon-equipped submarine. "The only barriers to launching their missiles are administrative, not mechanical."

Bush told *Common Cause Magazine* that he is concerned that, under existing circumstances, a submarine captain, lacking a presidential order, would have to persuade only three members of his crew to launch the ship's missiles. These three would be the radioman who normally would receive messages to launch missiles, and the two officers who are to

A more likely possibility than some captain taking conspiratorial action during peacetime is for a submarine to fire off its missiles in a war or near war situation without obtaining the proper order from the president.

This could happen, Bush says, if war broke out and communications between the submarine and its military and civilian superiors were cut off for a lengthy period. In a nuclear war, says Bush, "we would lose control of our forces" and many submarine captains would be likely to take it upon themselves to launch their missiles—authority or no authority.

Bush, who retired from the Navy in 1977 and last commanded a nuclear weapon-equipped submarine in 1970, says that he had often asked his superiors what action he should take with regard to his ship's nuclear missiles in the event of a war and subsequent cutoff of communications. He never got an answer, he says, but on no occasion was he ever predelegated the authority to use nuclear weapons under certain circumstances—nor did he ever hear of any other captain receiving such authority.

A Navy spokesperson confirms Bush's observations that there are no controls outside a submarine to prevent it from firing off its missiles at any time.

The Navy is, of course, aware of submarines' communications problem, which could cause concern during a crisis situation, the spokesperson says. To correct this problem, he says, the Navy is refining a new, ultra-low frequency system to keep submarines in regular contact with command authorities. With such a system, the Navy could transmit brief messages ordering them to surface. Once at the surface, the submarines could be given more specific orders.

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It is very difficult to ascertain who in the Soviet Union has the authority to fire nuclear weapons. But public sources speculate the authority is apparently not centered as much in one individual as it is in the United States. Soviet public documents do not specifically state who has the authority to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, but a number of Soviet experts in the United States suggest that the major power is held by the Communist Politburo, the party's ruling body, with the Communist Party's general secretary and top Soviet

leader Yuri Andropov being the central figure, as was Leonid Brezhnev before him.

Also playing an important role is the Defense Council, a body comparable to the United States' National Security Council, which includes Andropov and selected members of the Politburo, as well as top military officials.

The chief of the Committee on State Security (the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency), also appears to play a significant role because, according to U.S. analysts, the KGB guards and controls Soviet nuclear weapons stockpiles.

The KGB's presence at the missile sites is reportedly designed to assure that any possible use of nuclear weapons by the Soviet government is authorized by the appropriate high level authorities and is not undertaken by lower level military commanders.

In a period of relative calm, some authorities on the Soviet Union speculate that the tight control the Soviet government reportedly exercises over its nuclear forces makes it unlikely that anyone below the level of the Defense Council would have the authority to fire nuclear weapons on his own.

If true, one reason for this may be that the Soviet Union, unlike the U.S., reportedly keeps only a small portion of its land-based missiles on full alert, "and its forces apparently have never been maintained in a peacetime ground alert posture," according to a Brookings Institution study, *Soviet Strategic Forces: Requirements and Responses*.

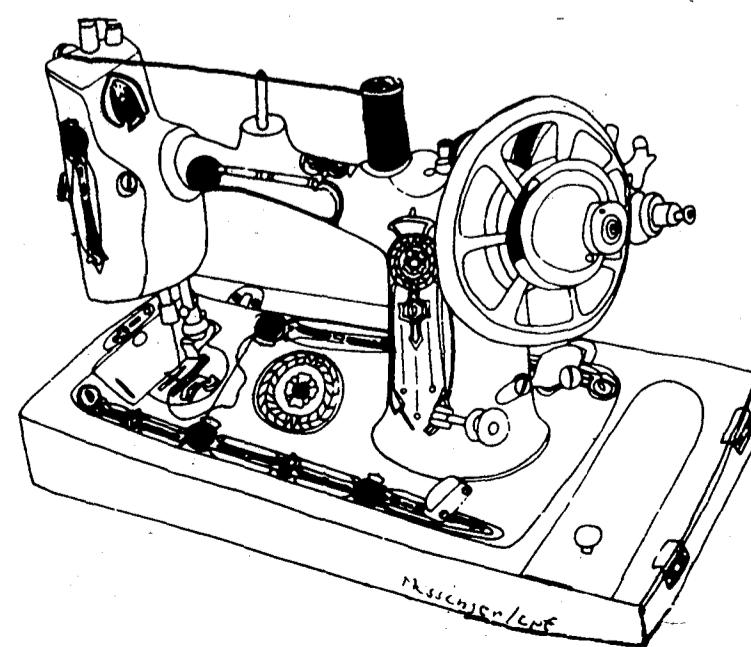
In the same vein, defense scholar Desmond Ball has observed that the Soviets are less prepared overall than the Americans to unleash their nuclear forces because the USSR "lacks the very complex and expensive command systems required to combine a high state of launch readiness with adequate safeguards against unauthorized firing."

In a time of nuclear crisis, however, this situation could change drastically. As a 1982 report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace noted, Soviet communications facilities and command centers—like their counterparts in the United States—"have little survivability against [nuclear] attack."

Assuming U.S. attacks on facilities housing Soviet leaders, and vice versa, the civilian and military leadership succession in both countries could be thrown into chaos—thereby increasing the likelihood that individual weapons commanders would take actions on their own to unleash nuclear weapons.

It is in such a context that predelegation of nuclear authority must be considered.

Given the fact that the firing of nuclear weapons could be tantamount to declaring war, and given that the Constitution grants Congress alone the authority to declare war, shouldn't Congress, or at the very least, some key Members, be part of determining the policy of predelegation? ●



FREE PARKING

VDT NEWS: a newsletter devoted to health and safety issues concerning video display terminals. coverage will range from technical reports to general features on office automation. Info: PO Box 1799, Grand Central Station, NYC NY 10163.

INSIDER GUIDE TO HEALTH FOODS: Written by erstwhile Gazette contributor David Armstrong, this is an investigative look at a \$3 billion industry that has an increasingly important impact on Americans (Bantam Books)

SAGE; A SCHOLARLY JOURNAL ON BLACK WOMEN is scheduled to begin publication in April. The journal will contain features, essays, interviews, research reports and reviews of books, films and exhibits. Write Beverly Guy

Sheftall, SAGE, Box 4274, Atlanta, Ga. 30311.

HOW AND WHY WOMEN WILL ELECT THE NEXT PRESIDENT by former NOW president Eleanor Smeal is due out this month.

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN is a jammed-packed bi-monthly journal filled with information about women and the media. Costs \$20 for a one-year subscription from 3306 Ross Place NW, DC 20008.

THE BEST OF CONGRESS

The Senate

Here are the top-ranked senators based on ADA's 1983 voting record study. Those in capital letters are running for reelection:

Metzenbaum	100%
LEVIN	95%
TSONGAS	95%
Sarbanes	95%
Matsunaga	95%
PELL	90%
Bingaman	90%
Hart	80%
BIDEN	85%
Kennedy	85%
Riegle	85%
BRADLEY	85%
Lautenberg	85%
Leahy	85%
Moynihan	80%
Specter - Rep	80%
Dodd	80%
Mitchell	80%
Eagleton	80%
Melcher	80%

Among Democratic presidential candidates in the Senate, only Gary Hart made the list. Cranston scored 75, Hollings 70 and Glenn 65. The lowest ranked senators who are up for re-election are:

Baker	20%
Cochran	20%
Johnston	20%
Pressler	20%
Warner	20%
Stevens	15%
Domenichi	15%
Humphrey	15%
Jepsen	15%
Thurmond	5%
Helms	0%

The House

Only eight members of the House received 100% ratings from ADA this year -- down from 14 last year. The eight, all Democrats, were:

John Conyers (Mich)
George Crockett (Mich)
Don Edwards (Calif)
David Obey (Wis)
Charles Rangel (NY)
Martin Sabo (Minn)
James Shannon (Mass)
Ted Weiss (NY)

Here's a list of all members of the House, by state, who received 80% or better in the ADA rating. All are Democrats:

ARIZONA: Udall
CALIFORNIA: Bosco, Matzui, Fazio, S.

Burton, Boxer, G. Miller, Dellums, Stark, D. Edwards, Lantos, Mineta, Panetta, R. Lehman, Beilenson, Waxman, Roybal, Berman, Levine, Dixon, Hawkins, Dymally, Torres, G. Brown, Patterson, Bates.

COLORADO: Schroeder, Wirth, Kogovsek

CONNECTICUT: Kennelly, Gejdenson, B. Morrison, Ratchford

DELAWARE: Carper

FLORIDA: L. Smith, W. Lehman, Pepper, Fascell

GEORGIA: Fowler

HAWAII: Akaka

ILLINOIS: Savage, Collins, Yates, L. Evans, Durbin

INDIANA: K. Hall, Sharp, McClosky

IOWA: Harkin

KENTUCKY: Perkins

LOUISIANA: G. Long

MARYLAND: C. Long, Mikulski, Hoyer, Mitchell, Barnes

MASSACHUSETTS: Boland, Early, Frank, Shannon, Mavroules, Markey, Studds, Donnelly

MICHIGAN: Conyers, Wolpe, Carr, Kildee, Traxler, Albosta, Crockett, Hertel, W. Ford, Dingell, Levin

MINNESOTA: Sabo, Sikorski, Oberstar

MISSOURI: Clay, Gephardt, Wheat, Volkmer

MONTANA: P. Williams

NEW HAMPSHIRE: D'Amours

NEW JERSEY: Florio, Howard, Dwyer, Roe, Torricelli, Rodino, Minish, Guarini

NEW MEXICO: Richardson

NEW YORK: Downey, Mrazek, Addabbo, Ackerman, Scheuer, Ferraro, Schumer, Towns, Owen, Solarz, Rangel, Weiss, Garcia, Biaggi, Ottinger, McHugh, LaFalce, Nowak, Lundine

NORTH CAROLINA: Britt

NORTH DAKOTA: Dorgan

OHIO: Luken, T. Hall, Kaptur, Eckart, Pease, Seiberling, Feighan, Oakar, Stokes

OREGON: Wyden, Weaver

PENNSYLVANIA: Foglietta, Gray, Borski, Kolter, Edgar, Kostmayer, Harrison, Coyne, Walgren, Murphy

TEXAS: Bryant, Leland, Gonzalez

VIRGINIA: Boucher

WASHINGTON: Swift, Foley, M. Lowrey

WEST VIRGINIA: Staggers, Wise, Rahall

WISCONSIN: Aspin, Kastenmeier, Moody, Obey

Here's a breakdown by party of those scoring 70 or above (liberal) or below 40 (conservative):

	DEM	REP
Liberal	70%	1%
Conservative	10%	90%

DC REPORT

The sludge solution

NEIL SELDMAN

What a way for the free world's capital to go. Drowning in its own excrement. It would be nice if we could blame the manure problem on the communists. We can't. We've only ourselves to blame. Unfortunately, local politicians are telling the public nothing can be done. They're wrong. A viable solution has already been demonstrated in the Washington area.

The Blue Plains facility produces 1800 tons of dewatered sludge per day. DC is responsible for the disposal of 1000 tons daily. The courts have ordered the District to compost the sludge. To comply with this order, DC's Department of Environmental Services contracted with a company to compost sludge in combination with mixed municipal garbage delivered directly to the site by city garbage trucks.

Composting is a simple process, but cannot work when tons of plastic, glass, metal and other non-organic elements are part of the raw material. A large pile of this mixture sits at the Blue Plains site.

DES cancelled the contract with this company. Another company was brought in. It mixes the sludge with cement and other chemicals that render the material unsuitable for composting or any other form of land application. It can only be disposed of in a landfill. But the company had no guaranteed access to a suitable site. Indeed, it turns out it didn't have a site. The company initially dumped the materials on city land but as soon as that illegal practice was discovered, the city ordered it stopped.

So now there are two large piles totalling over 120,000 tons sitting at Blue Plains with no place to go. Next to the mountain of mixed sludge and garbage is an even larger one composed of sludge and Chem Fix. These piles of waste may be the cause of the green slime that is now coating the Potomac River.

Mayor Barry tells us there is no solution to the problem. He and the press ignore the fact that Blue Plains has operated what many consider the most successful municipal composting operation in the United States. I toured the facility last summer and vouch for the quality of the product. Trucks from as far away as Richmond were coming to buy (that's right -- to buy) the material. The current city operators think they could significantly raise the price they charge. There is enough land area in DC alone to compost all the sludge produced at Blue Plains. DC documents also show that composting would be 50% cheaper than the operating costs of incineration.

Last summer, the facility was composting between 300 and 400 tons per day. Astonishingly, it now composts only 100 tons per day. In fact, the entire operation could soon be eliminated. Why? To provide space for the growing mountain of Chem Fix.

Sue V. Mills of the Prince Georges County Council, the most visible opponent of the company's application to landfill its Chem Fix, says she will allow the dumping of materials only when DC demonstrates that it is doing something to ease the situation. Sounds reasonable to me. The city apparently can't come up with an idea to meet Mills halfway. I can.

Make a deal with Prince Georges County. Let PG County take all the stagnant waste now at Blue Plains -- the mixed garbage/sludge and the Chem Fix. Stop producing Chem Fix immediately. Start composting sludge using every square inch of available space at Blue Plains. Should there be insufficient space then find alternative sites within the city. Land area is available. Other possibilities exist. For example, several cities are building plants that burn garbage on barges offshore. Composting could occur in the same fashion.

In other words, if PG County takes the current mess off the city's hands, the city will implement a system that guarantees it won't happen again. Even if PG County wants no part of this agreement, the District should move ahead. Private contractors are ready to hire DC residents to compost the sludge and market it. They are willing to pay for access to the material. We can literally create wealth from waste. Why wring our hands, tear our hair and rend the heavens to display our impotence? The solution has already been tested and found quite practical.

Neil Seldman is with the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. The institute is under contract with cities such as St. Paul and Newark to implement waste related development projects.

City desk

ANCS IN TROUBLE: The neighborhood commissions, which have never received much help from the city government, are facing new hurdles. The zoning commission has approved new rules that limit the right of ANCs to participate in zoning hearings by increasing the bureaucratic hassles involved in ANC presentation. And, in another attempted strangulation by paperwork, an independent consultant report and pending legislation have called for financial disclosure statements by neighborhood commissioners. Further, the bill would void any election where write-ins win with less than 25 votes.

IMPORTANT NEW INITIATIVES: People V. High Utility Bills has submitted initiatives to the Board of Elections that would provide for the election of the public service commission and of the people's counsel. If approved by the board, the initiatives would go on the September ballot. If you're tired of fighting against city hall, here is a positive effort that could be extremely important to DC. Currently, eleven states elect commissioners to regulate utilities. As Mark Plotkin, a member of PHUB, said recently, "The commissioners and the utilities say that it's a technical matter and that it's too complicated for people to understand. But the people pay the bills and maybe it's time for them to have a say in who represents them." To get involved in PHUB, call chair Jo Butler at 265-9307, or write her at 1720 Swann St. NW, DC 20009.

PEACE PULLS: The Leonard Bernstein peace concert at the National Cathe-



"Let's divide the earth up into little squares and sell them."

dral raised over \$100,000 for peace groups including the American Friends Service Committee, the Maryland Freeze Committee and the Nuclear Resource Center.

WATCH THE METRO TAX: One of the worst ideas to come along in some time appears to be gaining momentum again: an area-wide tax to help support the profligate transit system. A poll by the developer-oriented Federal City Council found that 71% of those polled in all jurisdictions favor completion of the 101-mile subway system 'even if it meant that your taxes would be increased to help pay for construction.' What people don't realize is that they would be throwing good money after bad. The costs of operating the current system are rising rapidly and further construction would make the problem even greater.

Here are some points to keep in mind in the midst of the editorial euphoria over an area-wide tax:

• You would be paying a tax to an only-indirectly accountable agency. At the very least, any area-wide tax should be accompanied by an elected Metro board.

• Metro has consistently, through intent or ignorance, understated its costs and projected deficits. This problem will not go away. There is nothing out in Shady Grove that is going to save Metro.

• Only a relative small percentage of taxpayers actually use the subway system. On a daily basis the figure represents (even assuming that each rider is only going one-way) less than 15% of the area population. Yet it is the subway that is causing the big deficits. This is not only bad government, it is a de facto form of discrimination, since the subway clearly benefits white and suburban commuters far more than it does black and city residents. The thought of a welfare mother having to pay an extra cent on the dollar in order to subsidize the subway borders on the obscene.

BIGGEST SHELTER YET: The largest shelter for the homeless in the country opened last month at 425 Second St. NW. It will house up to 800 men and 200 women. The building, formerly part of Federal City College was obtained through a cooperative agreement between the Community for Creative Non-Violence, the city and the federal government. CCNV says it will operate the shelter at no cost to the government.

CITY \$150 MILLION SHORT: Once again, the city came up short of cash the end of this year and will have to go to the private securities market -- unlike previous years when it just borrowed from the US Treasury -- for the money. The city missed its \$55 million payment due to the DC Retirement Board January 1 and, according to councilmember Kane, came close to missing a city payroll.

MAYOR SIDESTEPS HOME RULE ON SOUTHWEST: In a strange letter to Congress, signed by the mayor and seven city councilmembers, Barry has asked that Congress approve a multimillion dollar International Cultural and Trade Center in Southwest. The seven members who joined in this end run around home rule can be found in the Report Card section this month. One of those who opposed the effort was John Wilson who wrote his own letter to the council urging members not to "support a project that has so much community opposition, is legally questionable and involves approaching Congress to change an urban renewal plan that we ourselves are constrained by law from changing." There is considerable opposition to the plan in Southwest. One of the leaders of the opposition, Brian Moore, says "They're using Congress when they need it and they throw up the idea of home rule when they don't." . . . A monkey wrench was thrown into the trade center scheme, being promoted by Barry and the Federal City Council, when the RLA ruled that a 1980 local court ruling applied in the case, requiring that all adversely affected property owners consent to any change in the urban renewal plan for an area before the city council can approve alterations. In this case, at least 24 property owners would be affected including L'Enfant Plaza and the Comsat Building.

SENATE CHILD CARE: The US Senate has okayed the opening of a child-care center for the offspring of senators and their employees. As soon as it acted, it had about 145 parents clamoring for reservations. The center has room for 40.

METROTICKS: Metro is thinking about overhauling its \$60 million farecard system that breaks down about 2400 times a day. Estimated cost of the job: \$27 million to reduce the number of malfunctions to a mere 1000 a day. Projected contractor: Cubic Western, the firm that provided the original machines. You provide the comment. **••••** We notice that Metro is getting special flashing lights to help warn motorists of when buses are slowing down. This may help, but what would help even more, as the Gazette has pointed out from time to time, would be a law that prohibited passing a bus when its warning lights were flashing. This would allow buses to move in and out of stops more quickly and, we suspect, significantly reduce the cost of bus operation.

PRESS NOTES: Welcome to Mole, the funny new satire magazine being published here. It is tasteless, sophomoric, unmerciful and very good reading. **••••** Meanwhile, we wait with less than bated breath for the arrival of the Washington Weekly, the latest attempt to capture the hearts of the local consumers of change. It describes itself as being aimed at "people who are in their twenties, thirties, and forties who almost all work in Washington or live in Washington . . . young professionals on their way up." The paper suggests that you get it delivered to your office so you can impress your "boss and coworkers with your inside information and urban street smarts." Start-up costs for this venture are estimated at 1.3 million bucks and one analyst suggests another \$8 million will be needed to make a go of it. The one cheerful note is that the editor is Jeff Stein who did a good job with the City Paper.

THE ASTRODUD: Even the Washington Post couldn't hide fact that the convention center is off to a slow start. In its first year, described by the Post as 'splashy if unprofitable,' the center's deficit was 27% higher than projected. Further, much of the so-called spin-off benefits were illusionary since only five national shows and conventions were booked and the center kept busy thanks to events that basically were locally oriented. Over half the events were local shows, some simply displaced from some other location such as the DC Armory.

THE LAND GRAB: Seven small businesses evicted from downtown to make way for a new Hecht's store. . . . Four 19th century buildings to be demolished on Pennsylvania Avenue to make way for new development there. . . . Woodies and Quadrangle reaching final agreement to redevelop the block north of Woodies with a hotel, office and retail complex. The site, conveniently located near the convention center, is the sort of development opportunity Quadrangle's sister corporation must have had in mind when it wrote the consultant report urging construction of the center.

ACLU NEEDS LAWYERS: With only two staff attorneys and a caseload of 70 pieces of litigation, the local ACLU needs volunteer attorneys who can help litigate civil liberties cases. The ACLU is especially looking for lawyers who could serve as lead counsel in a case, with the capacity to conduct fact-finding investigations, discovery and a civil trial. Call Liz Symonds at the ACLU office, 544-1076.

REPORT CARD

Here is our report card on the mayor and city council. Generally speaking we give 2 points plus or minus for votes on key issues (three in special cases) and one point plus or minus for introducing legislation, votes in committee or taking a position without any action.

IMPORTANT CORRECTION: When, some months back, we switched our rating system from a percentage to a point system, we seriously short-changed John Wilson. We apologize for this error, which has been corrected in the totals below.

Here are this month's issues:

- The council gave its first consideration to the comprehensive plan and badly muffed it. The key vote was on the question of whether to require the mayor to submit a land use plan as part of the official plan. Members Wilson, Kane, Mason and Winter supported this and get three points. All the rest, except Moore who was absent, get three points taken away.
- One point taken away from the mayor and councilmembers Clarke, Jarvis, Crawford, Smith, Winter, Ray and Moore for pressing for construction of a cultural and trade center in Southwest. Wilson gets a point for opposing this move. (See story for details.)
- Barry loses a point for his strong-arm tactics trying to get elected officials to line up behind Jesse Jackson for president.
- Councilmember Rolark gets a point for opposing construction of a sludge incinerator without an environmental impact study.

GRADE	NAME	POINTS
A	MASON	13
B	KANE	10
C	WILSON	7
D	SHACKLETON	2
D	WINTER	2
F	SMITH	0
F	ROLARK	-2
F	CLARKE	-4
F	MOORE	-4
F	RAY	-6
F	SPAULDING	-7
F	CRAWFORD	-7
F	JARVIS	-12
F	BARRY	-16

FURTHERMORE . . . If you're into personal license plates, you'll be glad to know that you can now use up to seven letters in them . . . Gerald Strine, sports-writer for the Post, discovered that local bookmakers were taking bets at the beginning of the Granadian invasion with the Marines odds-on favorites. He tried to include the item in a story but the Post editors killed it. He says bookies are also offering action on the fighting in Central America and even on World War III. . . . Jesse Jackson supporters were talking last month about moving up the date of the DC primary so Jackson can get a big win here before all the primary excitement is over. The primary is normally held in May. It's unlikely the council could move that fast. . . . Registration for summer youth employment has begun. College and out-of-school youth can apply for summer jobs at the Department of Employment Services, 500 C NW, Room 103A. Applicants need a birth certificate, social security card, proof of DC residency and a family income statement. Males also need proof of draft registration. Info: 639-1134.

The regulations of the DC rental housing commission for matters brought before it are now available in room 407, 614 H NW. . . . The Gertrude Stein Democratic Club voted 123 to 86 to support Walter Mondale for president over second-place Jesse Jackson. Alan Cranston was third with six votes. . . . The Zoning Commission has approved the latest plans for a mixed residential and commercial development at McLean Gardens. There'll be an eight-story building on Wisconsin Avenue with town houses and low-rises in the rear. . . . Horseplay at the fire department's training academy resulted in a trainee having his finger slashed by a machete. Said an official, "There was no brawl. There was no alteration. There were no ill feelings of any sort." Another official said, "Our rookie classes -- at least the better ones -- are kind of high-spirited."

The Cleveland Park/Woodley Park Neighborhood Commission has called on the city council to enact legislation that would expand the size of the ABC board from three to five members, including three 'community-oriented' members. . . . Jerry Moore has introduced legislation that preservation groups might want to take a close look at. It would establish a consent requirement for historic landmark and historic district designation of churches, buildings or structures belonging to religious corporations, societies and congregations. In other words, churches wouldn't have to pay any attention to preservation law requirements. Curious. . . . This is true: Stephen Kocak announced that he will seek the Democratic Party's nomination for president as a Jeffersonian populist. Kocak made his announcement at a meeting of the Cleveland Park Citizens Association, which he formerly headed. He says he will enter all the primaries. His platform includes cutting the military budget by \$100 million the first year of his administration, adding housewives to the Social Security rolls with their pensions computed as if they had earned \$10,000 annually, allowing social security funds to be invested in profit-making corporations a la IRAs, raising the personally income tax allowance for dependents to \$4000, permitting deductions for college tuition payments and ending the 'Yalta imperialist system of diplomacy.'

Latest example of the new ethics: The Washington Post has no plans to replace its former ombudsman, Robert McCloskey. . . . If you want to know whether your street is being plowed on time, these figures from the city may help. The city says it has nearly 450 miles of heavily used streets. Of these, nearly 180 miles are designated snow emergency routes. Snow emergency routes are cleared first, next the remaining heavily used streets and then the 700 miles of residential streets. The city, with the help of Metro, can put in service approximately 85 trucks to spread salt, sand or to plow. It takes these trucks 2 to 4 hours to salt the snow emergency routes one time. Several saltings are often needed. When the decision is made to start plowing, over 130 plows driven by private contractors join the fleet. With about 200 plows, a single plowing of 450 miles of primarily routes normally takes 7-10 hours. For residential plowing, the District is divided into 49 areas and two plows are assigned to each. Clearing one lane through the 700 miles of residential streets requires 24 hours. Often, this work must be spread over two days. Some streets are too narrow to plow at all. . . . Please note: these are the city's figures, not ours. If you want to know why a snow plow can only clear a block and a half per hour, ask your local politician.

Jeremy Parker writes to ask why the city is closing the 14th Street Bridge to bicyclists. "This is surely one of the most important issues that has faced DC bicyclists for a long time," he says. . . . The Potomac Basin Reporter points out that if you can't beat the jellyfish problem you can always eat them. That's what the Chinese do. You can buy them at large Chinese groceries. Shred three ounces of jellyfish and place in a pan of warm water with vinegar for five minutes. Refill pan with cold water and let stand for one hour. Place on a bed of shredded cucumbers and turnips, after draining the jellyfish. Add soy sauce, salt, pepper and sesame oil. Toss. A little garlic may be added. The Reporter's editor tried the stuff and reports it "interesting."

'Roses in December,' a documentary film on one of the four American church women murdered in El Salvador in 1980, will be shown on Feb. 25 at 8 pm at the First Congregational Church, 10th & G NW. Suggested donation: \$5. Sponsored by the Washington War Resisters League. Info: 234-2000.

ROSES & THORNS

ROSES TO OLIVER AND PHILLIP CARR for providing the Presidential Hotel -- due to be torn down shortly, as a shelter for the homeless. The Carrs got in touch with the Community for Creative Non-Violence on December 23. CCNV met Philip Carr and his engineers, plumbers and electricians at the building at 8 am on Christmas Eve. By 8 pm the city had turned on the water, and Carr's staff has the heat and electricity going. In addition, a few hundred windows had been patched and sealed, hundreds of blankets and 60 Red Cross cots were obtained, and the facility had been thoroughly cleaned, swept and mopped. More than two dozen volunteers worked furiously throughout the day. On the first night, there were 148 guests. In less than a week the shelter's population had doubled.

THE GAZETTE BOOKSHELF

THE PORTABLE HAWTHORNE: 'The Scarlet Letter' complete; selections from 'the House of Seven Gables,' 'The Blitheside Romance,' 'The Marble Faun,' and thirteen tales. Also selections from notebooks and letters. \$6.95

THE PORTABLE MILTON: 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes' complete. Selection of poems and prose works. \$6.95

REFERENCE

POCKET ENGLISH-HEBREW, HEBREW-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Over 30,000 vocabulary entries. \$3.95

HOW NOT TO LOSE AT POKER: Invaluable advice as well as probabilities for different hands. \$3

BEGINNERS GUIDE TO WINNING CHESS. Chess expert Fred Reinfeld explains how to do it. \$3

FIX IT FAST COOKBOOK: 270 recipes you can bring to the table in minutes. \$4.95

HUGH JOHNSON'S POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WINE. This guide, which you can peruse discreetly in the liquor store, list the wines of 18 countries complete with data on taste and vintage plus a rating. Also included is a quick reference chart for wines from France and Germany. \$5.95

JOY OF COOKING: Revised and enlarged with over 4300 recipes. America's best-loved cookbook for more than a quarter of a century. \$7.95

THE PORTABLE THOMAS HARDY: "The Mayor of Casterbridge" complete; seven tales of Wessex; more than 100 poems; excerpts from the epic verse drama "The Dynasts;" nonfictional prose, including prefaces, essays, letters and comments on life and the arts from his notebooks and journals. \$6.95.

THE HOBBIT: The adventure fantasy that begins the tale of the hobbits that was continued by J.R.R.Tolkien in The Lord of the Rings. \$2.50

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE. Dee Brown's eloquent account of the systematic destruction of the American Indians during the second half of the nineteenth century. "A painful, shocking book." — Book World. \$8.95

THE PORTABLE TOLSTOY: Includes "The Kreutzer Sonata," passages from his childhood, youth and military life, Episodes from "The Cossacks," long and short stories, the play "The Power of Darkness," philosophic, religious, social and critical writings, chronology, bibliography. \$6.95

THE PORTABLE FAULKNER: Stories and episodes from novels including "The Bear," "Spotted Horses," and "Old Man," plus the Nobel Prize Address. \$6.95

FOR CHILDREN

THE TALE OF PETER RABBIT: \$1.25

JAMES AND THE GIANT PEACH: \$2.75

~~GOODNIGHT MOON \$2.50 SOLD OUT~~

RICHARD SCARRY'S FUNNIEST STORYBOOK EVER: \$4.95

MADELEINE: \$3.50

THE GIVING TREE: \$4.50

CHARLOTTE'S WEB: \$4.50

ROBERT FROST'S POEMS: An anthology accompanied by an introduction and commentary by Louis Untermeyer \$3.95.

THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON: Includes "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" and "Notes on the State of Virginia." Also the Declaration of Independence, draft constitution for Virginia, opinion on the constitutionality of a national bank, first inaugural address and letters to George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, John Jay and others. \$6.95.

THE BIG SLEEP: Raymond Chandler's famous story about detective Philip Marlowe, who finds himself hired by an eccentric, paralyzed California millionaire in a case of blackmail, but gets involved in something even more ugly. \$2.95

THE PORTABLE WALT WHITMAN: Selections from "Leaves of Grass," "Democratic Vistas," "Specimin Days." Chronology and bibliographical checklist by Gay Wilson Allen. The New Yorker calls it "the best and most representative one-volume edition of Whitman ever put together." \$6.95

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THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA: Ernest Hemingway's tragic yet triumphant story of an old Cuban fisherman and his supreme ordeal -- a relentless, agonizing battle with a giant marlin out in the Gulf Stream. \$2.50

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THE PORTABLE STEINBECK: Of Mice and Men and The Red Pony complete. Portions of The Long Valley, Tortilla Flat, The Grapes of Wrath, Cannery Row and Travels with Charlie. The Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech. \$6.95

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JOHN STEINBECK: GRAPES OF WRATH ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~
GEORGE ORWELL: ANIMAL FARM ~~\$1.95~~ ~~41~~

THE OFFICIAL I HATE CATS BOOK: Ex-cat lover Skip Morrow has concocted, with acid pen, a diabolical collection of feline fantasies — some of which you may recognize as your own. Others will inspire you to new heights — or depths. Perfect for the cat-hater you love. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~41~~

NON-PRESCRIPTION DRUGS AND THEIR SIDE-EFFECTS: a complete family guide to more than 500 of the most frequently purchased over-the-counter medications — their positive uses and their potential dangers — as described by government agencies, pharmaceutical associations and the manufacturers. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~49~~ ~~40~~ ~~42~~ ~~41~~

THE PORTABLE MARK TWAIN: Huckleberry Finn and the Mysterious Stranger complete. Selections from A Connecticut Yankee, Puddn'head Wilson, the Autobiography and other works. Letters, essays, and The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County. ~~46.95~~ ~~45~~ ~~40~~

THE KORAN: A translation that retains the beauty of the original, altering the traditional arrangement to increase understanding. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~

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DC MAGAZINES: A LITERARY RETROSPECTIVE. This work contains an anthology of pieces from three of Washington's most important literary magazines: Portfolio, Voyages and Dryad. Editor Richard Peabody has also included a listing of literary magazines published here from the 18th century on and a list of alternative newspapers and arts magazines published since the sixties. Was \$7.95, now only ~~\$6.00~~ ~~55~~ ~~40~~ ~~44~~ ~~00~~

CHESAPEAKE: James A. Michener. This is, of course, the book that was the first word of notice ten years ago making it to the number one spot in the New York Times' best sellers list. But its subject matter is not quite as popular these days in the Washington area. A fine novel and a way to learn more about our bay. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~40~~ ~~41~~ ~~00~~

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THE I HATE PREPPIES HANDBOOK: A Guide for the Rest of Us. If you're tired of hearing about preppies this is the book for you. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~40~~ ~~41~~ ~~00~~

RICHARD BACH: JONATHAN LIVINGSTON SEAGULL ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~

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THE STORIES OF JOHN CHEEVER ~~\$0.50~~ ~~42~~
HOMER: THE ODYSSEY. ~~2.25~~ ~~41~~

CALLIGRAPHY MADE EASY: A beginner's workbook. Easy lessons shows you how to create beautiful lettering for unique gifts, stationary and invitations. ~~\$8.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~46~~

THE RIF SURVIVAL HANDBOOK: How to Manage Your Money if You're Unemployed. John May has written a book about the money side of unemployment and the search for a new job. It shows you how to organize yourself to make ends meet, to handle your cash to gain confidence in yourself and to free yourself to concentrate on what's really important: finding a new job. Covers the field from budgeting to borrowing to bankruptcy. John May is president of a financial planning and management consulting firm that advises government and private organizations. He has run RIF seminars at agencies and organizations for workers losing their jobs. ~~\$4.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~41~~

THE ESSENTIAL EARTHTMAN: Henry Mitchell on Gardening. This is not just another book on gardening but the thoughts of an enthusiast who comes to the subject with reverence, passion, humor and a sober knowledge of human frailty. The Essential Earthman believes, for example, "a lawn 17 by 20 feet is just fine, if you think a lawnless life is not worth living *** But I suspect many gardeners would do well to think of something besides grass and the little noisy juggernauts you cut with." This is a collection of many of Mitchell's most popular pieces from the Washington Post. ~~\$12.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~46~~ ~~48~~

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK OF HOUSE PLANTS. The classic guide to house plants. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~44~~

THE THIRD OLD HOUSE CATALOGUE: The essential where-to-get-it and how-to-use-it guide to restoring, decorating, and furnishing the period house. Featuring 6000 completely new and useful products, services and suppliers. ~~40.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~47~~

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CANCER AND VITAMIN C: The remarkable research and theories of Ewan Cameron and Linus Pauling. An alternative look at treatment of the Big C. ~~\$6.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~45~~

COUNTRY NEW ENGLAND INNS: This is a 1982-1983 edition not-to-be confused with a similar book listed in our sale catalog. This one is much more complete and includes maps and rates and illustrations. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~

COUNTRY INNS LODGES AND HISTORIC HOTELS OF THE MID ATLANTIC STATES: Descriptions, rates and illustrations. ~~\$5.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~

THE FEINGOLD COOKBOOK FOR HYPERACTIVE CHILDREN: If you have a hyperactive child or are worried about food additives this book is full of simple, healthy, tasty recipes. ~~\$3.95~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~

ERICA JONG: FEAR OF FLYING ~~\$9.50~~ ~~42~~

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER: THE DEERSLAYER: ~~\$8.95~~

CHARLES DICKENS: DAVID COPPERFIELD: ~~\$2.50~~ ~~42~~

LETTER FROM BOLOGNA

Barbara Bick

When I say that I come from one of the most progressive cities in the United States -- Washington DC -- people here in Bologna get a baffled expression as they try to grasp the joke. Naturally enough, they confuse the national capital with my hometown. A native Washingtonian, my neighborhood for the last two decades has been the downtown section around Dupont Circle. In Bologna, where I am currently spending the year, I live in corresponding territory, in the historical center -- also spoken of as 'within the walls.' The medieval walls no longer exist but the ring of 11th century portas (gates or entrances) of the ancient wall still stand -- each gorgeously different -- as lynchpins of a circular viale or wide boulevard which at once encompasses the old city and from which project broad avenues outward into the new sections of Bologna.

Besides the fact of my living in these two exceedingly beautiful cities, they share the distinction of having unusually progressive city administrations. Bologna is well known in Europe as having initiated and, over the past 35 years, implemented important, almost visionary, policies focused on city planning, municipal political democracy, the economy, housing, transportation, the elderly and health care. Other shared characteristics of Bologna (or 'Bo' in local usage) and the District of Columbia are a similar population size and a non-basic industry economy. On the other hand, Bo and DC have profound differences, primarily stemming from their identity within each one's respective national history. Both the interesting similarities and the deep-seated differences are productive to study.

As I stroll through downtown Bologna, I am most conscious of the implications which principled urban planning have upon the city as a living environment. A major intent of the Bologna municipality has been to retain as much as possible of the old city, its buildings and its street structure. This initially represented a stated policy of the political parties making up the city administration. It has since been consistently endorsed by the city council and the neighborhood councils, which have the final power over what might be termed zoning issues. A supportive citizens organization called 'Italia nostra' sounds the equivalent of DC's Don't Tear It Down.

This conscious concern for Bologna's historical integrity stands in sharpest contrast to world-wide trends of urban development since the Second World War. During the last 40 years of the explosive growth of cities, nowhere has the mo-

tivating principle been to respect the past: even less has it been an interest in the welfare of people who live and work in them. Rather, economic imperatives and housing requirements of the wealthiest class has been determinant. The result, overall, is the replacement of neighborhoods where working people lived and were employed by new districts of highrise office buildings, chic retail centers and modern luxury residential units. Outside of isolated slum patches, any old decent housing stock is gentrified to become a piece with the modern inner city. Above all, our streets are taken over by the automobile.

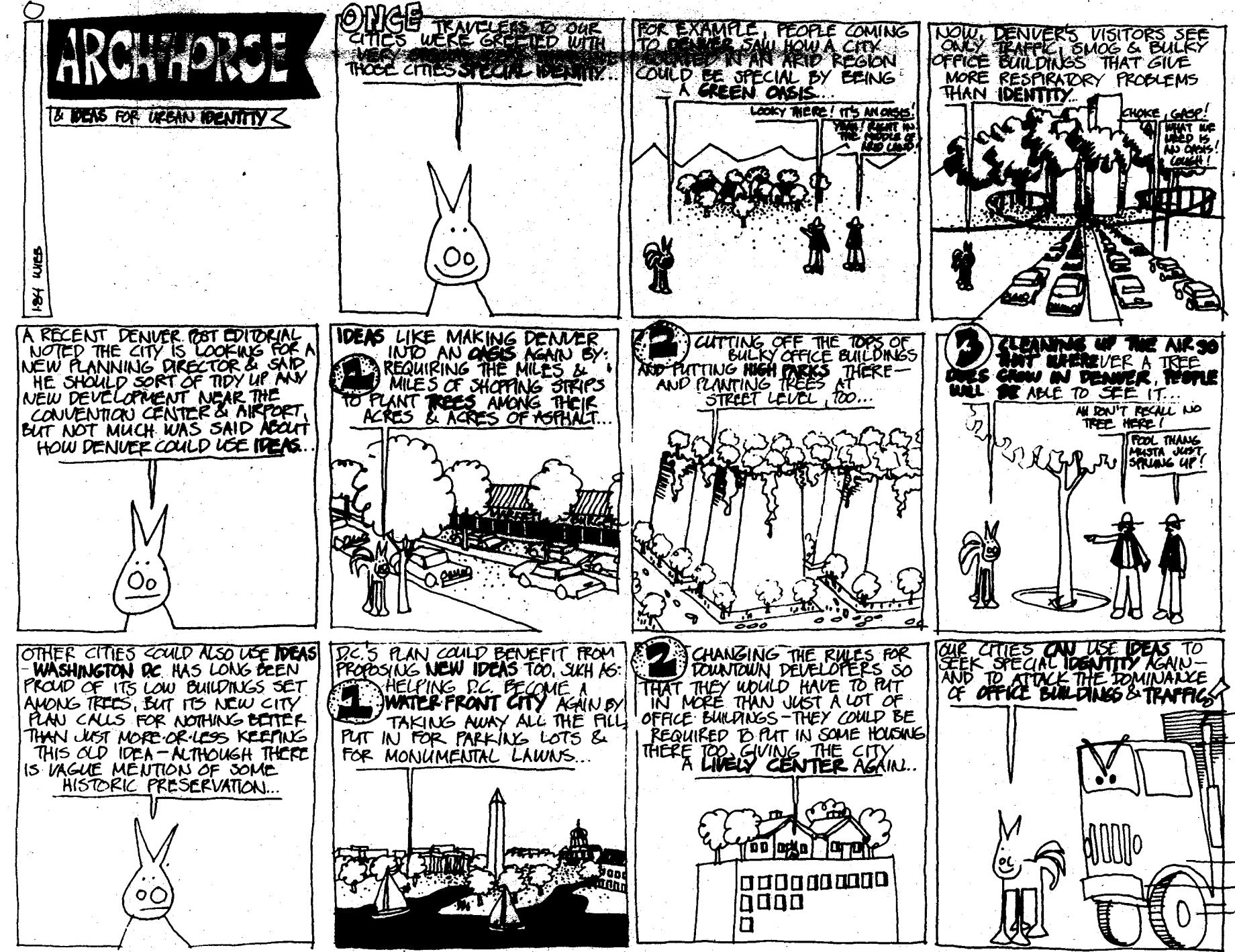
This is not the case with Bologna.

I hasten to interpose at this point that many other Italian cities retain vestiges of their past but I speak here only about living areas, not classical ruins nor architectural edifices. There is, of course, Venice which is reputed to have the largest historic center in Europe; there are the hill villages and towns of Tuscany etc. I have just returned from Genoa where a section of the inner city has remnants of astonishingly narrow, dark medieval streets and many glorious palaces built by the great seafaring mercantile families. The medieval streets are now dank slums seemingly occupied either by the indigent and prostitutes or have been transformed into picturesque lanes of boutiques and restaurants. The palaces are preeminently banks.

Not so in Bologna.

The physical impact of Bo is strongly two-fold. Its major thoroughfares ignite distinctly urban vitality and tension; its interposing secondary streets immediately contrast with a quiet that is simultaneously inclusive of varietal life. The major thoroughfares run straight and broad, some are modern and others were cut through in the 19th century. They intersect, like spokes of a wheel, the honeycomb of old narrow streets which weave an interesting web that integrates the whole. It is this network that is the heartbeat of the city. They are not slums. They are not stylishly picturesque. They are where people live and work.

Bo's major arteries display all the multitudinous commercial, business, financial, professional, government and service appurtenances of the modern sophisticated city. Retail stores range from reasonably priced department stores (although smaller than American prototypes) to luxury shops more redolent of New York than Washington.



The inner web is in every sense more inviting to daily intercourse. These streets are lined with old buildings two to four stories high. There is - for all practical purpose - no unattached individual housing. On each side of the street, on the ground floor, there are shops and small industries (or crafts) interspersed between doors which give onto living units above or beyond the facade. Consider, for a moment, what the following implies for daily life:

Each street has - open to view - one or more butcher shop, vegetable and fruit shop, cheese shop, bakery, salami/delicatessen, candy/sweets store, and often a freshly rolled pasta shop. All of the food products are fresh and of high quality. Compare that to northeast Washington where one must travel blocks only to reach the single low-quality supermarket. Every street also has - and this is literally true - a cobbler, beauty parlor, barber shop, bar (where coffee and soft drinks are as much the rule as aperitifs, wine and liquor - and which usually has a small sandwich stock) and a general store. Most blocks have varieties of the following: an upholsterer, a laundry/dry cleaner, bicycle repair, carpenter, furniture repair, secretarial service/photocopier, plumber and electrical appliance repair. Often there are small clothing stores for daily wear and sometimes a small trattoria - a reasonably priced, home-cooking restaurant. Frequently there is a larger bar, with one or more rooms to the side or rear, where predominantly older men congregate endlessly to talk, play cards and sometimes billiards. And then scattered throughout these streets are a seemingly endless number of small machine shops which, for me, are impossible to identify. Some neighborhoods, in addition, have specialities: immediately adjacent to the center are several stunning food markets. The most enticing have stalls, open and lining the streets, where one is engulfed with displays of astounding varieties of fish, game, sausages, cheeses, vegetables and fruits. Food is a serious part of life in Italy.

The sense and feel of these streets is of a living, working community of people. And this, then, is the mark of Bologna's unique urban planning. The goal of

historic preservation is to conserve and rehabilitate the urban center as a place where working people live and are employed. It is not to guard showcase monuments which are then isolated within the increasingly ubiquitous urban service center.

Washington is not too dissimilar from Bo in continuing to be a city where a large number of people still live and are employed. But we are well aware of what has been lost and what is at risk today. I can still recall the southern ambience of old southwest in the '30s. Old Foggy Bottom has likewise disappeared. Capitol Hill's lovely turn-of-the-century housing is greatly gentrified as is Dupont Circle. The process grinds on in Adams Morgan, Logan Circle, etc.

However all is not sanguine in Bo, either. A major difference between the two cities is that the District is both vulnerable and stabilized by its dependence on one major source of employment: the federal government, not too different in kind from Detroit's dependence on the automotive giants or Turin's on Fiat. Bo, on the other hand, has consciously resisted the dominance of one major employer. Instead, its hundreds of small industrial workshop/factories contain labor within a more human environment, and do not constitute a unilateral source of power and control.

An early building councillor of the city stated: "The crisis [of cities] is the logical consequence of . . . the capitalist system . . . which sees human beings as mere instruments for the production of profit and not as masters of their own destiny." The Bolognese working class and small bourgeoisie, by policies which maintain the city center as a place where they can continue to live and work, show their intent to retain control over their city.

This is the first in a series of reports from Bologna by Barbara Bick.

EUGENE McCARTHY Disabled With Class

While OSHA, the Occupational Safety and Health agency of the federal government, labors early and late, manfully and womanfully, to protect workers from health and safety dangers in factories and work places, other dangers, pain causing and disabling, if not death dealing, multiply in the non-working world of leisure, ordinary domestic life, and even in the arts.

Doctors are not unmindful or indifferent to these ills. They are attending to them, identifying them, even giving them names in medical journals and clinical reports.

Some of these afflictions have become marks of social status, as gout in past centuries distinguished the British upper middle classes.

THE TENNIS craze made a growth industry of the orthopedic treatment of "tennis elbow." Whereas in the past, ailments resulting from excessive indulgence in sports were kept more or less secret, for fear of ridicule or public disfavor, some have taken on social significance. Tennis elbow is one, formerly a mark of the leisure class, it now affects the lower and middle classes.

Surfers "knots," lumps on ankles and shins, resulting from prolonged and frequent kneeling or lying on surf boards, are considered distinguishing, although according to medical reports, they are basically the same as common, work related disabilities such as "ladder shins," found in painters, window washers, installers of automatic garage doors, etc. and are comparable to long recognized "house-maids' knees," "bargemen's bottoms," and "bartender's elbow," no one of which is or has been considered glamorous.

Dog owners who used to have to worry about little else, relative to their dogs, than bites or rabies, now may be afflicted by "Hogan's elbow." This latest disorder identified by the medical profession, through the work of one Dr. William Mehane, as "Hogan's elbow," after the black labrador. It is a serious and painful inflammation of the left elbow, or of the right, depending on which hand or arm one uses to hold the leash when walking the dog. Evidently Hogan was never taught to heel.

Heavy gamblers and electronic game players may be afflicted by "casino feet," a foot condition, according to podiatrists, which is now considered a status symbol. Dentists, barbers and beauty operators may suffer from the same affliction, but in their case, since the condition is one that arises from occupational activity, it does not merit status recognition.

PLAYING video games and manipulating Rubik cubes may cause an inflammation of tendons called, in one case "Arcade arthritis" and in the other "Cuber's thumb." Dr. Myerson, a leading researcher in the field, has observed that neither condition is inherently dangerous, and in no way comparable to the dangers of playing football, baseball, or hockey.

More serious in their implications for culture and for the arts are two afflictions, actually occupational hazards for some persons, reported recently in medical circles.

One of these affects flute players, and has been labeled "flutist's neuropathy." It is marked by numbness of the left index finger. The other is called "Gamba Leg." The first case of "Gamba Leg" clearly

diagnosed and named, was that of a woman musician whose upper left leg fell asleep as she practiced a stringed instrument known as the Viola Da Gama, a close relative to the cello.

The medical expert who has gone public on this affliction is Dr. Philip Howard, who wrote of it in a recent New England Journal of Medicine. Dr. Howard's report does not say whether the condition is one that occurs only in female Viola Da Gama players. This may be determined by further study.

TAKEN ALL together these reports clearly indicate that medical research has not become hide-bound, or narrow and restricted in its scope. It suggests that the criticism of doctors (such as that introduced by W. C. Fields, when in one of his early movies, after he had fallen off a circus wagon and lay on the ground in evident pain, said "It's Wednesday. Take me to a golf course. I need a doctor.") is not justified.

CHARLES McDOWELL Machine Writing

ALEXANDRIA — This is being written on the more or less trusty word processor, an elemental computer, that I have been using for a couple of years. The machine is portable and will travel nicely to New Hampshire, for instance, to cover presidential politics.

But a warning to airport security people is taped to the machine: "Do Not X-Ray! Radiation can damage electronics."

That is one way that what has been written and stored in the word processor can be lost or garbled.

Another way is to have a power surge on the electrical circuit. Or the machine can pick up a load of static electricity and suddenly just go blank. Big noises bother it, too; sports reporters using these machines in press boxes found that howling crowds could start the machines' nervous systems. There are still other ways to have your prose vaporized, and some of them are mystical. At least they are beyond the understanding of many of us who labor in uneasy

alliance with these marvels of electronics.

Last Saturday I was writing a column about the Washington Redskins and how we ought to try to be humble as we rise to supremacy in the National Football League. The thing was almost finished and ready to be transmitted to a computer in Richmond as beeps on a telephone line. Suddenly, and for no discernible reason at all, the prose on my screen turned into a cryptogram.

★ ★ ★

After trying for an hour to solve the code into which the machine had translated the column, I had to clear the screen and start writing all over again. Such disasters do not happen often, maybe a couple of times a year. But the possibility is always a hovering terror for the writer in the electronic age.

Writers talk to one another a lot these days about their word processors. The conversations have two

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By Sam Smith

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linked themes: (1) how fast, facile and generally wonderful the machines are (2) except when they vaporize the product of a writer's creative soul.

This love-hate relationship with word processors has become a cliché sufficient to sustain a fine, crazy parody by Garrison Keillor in a recent issue of *The New York Times Magazine*. Keillor is the host of "A Prairie Home Companion" on public radio and a writer of humor mainly for *The New Yorker* magazine.

In the word-processor parody, E.B. White writes a huge novel in two weeks and then loses it in two seconds when impulses from a phonograph get into his circuitry. White shoots his writing machine with an elk rifle.

Keillor also tells us how William Faulkner got onto a word processor early, rattled off books at incredible

speed, and persuaded Robert Frost to take up the electronic marvel, too, when Frost was still writing "with a carpenter's pencil on the backs of seed circulars." Faulkner converted the poet by razzing him in letters: "Hey, how many words you write today? Three?"

Frost continued writing poetry by hand but used a word processor for a new career in long fiction. Inevitably, there was an accident, Keillor tells us, and "Frost's entire sci-fi output was lost to the world."

★ ★ ★

Actually, we are advancing rapidly to a time when myths and traumatic memories are the only word-processor adventures we can talk about. The current generation of machines hard-

ly ever vaporizes or garbles a novel or a Redskins column. The manufacturers are realizing how foolproof a computer terminal has to be to coexist with supposedly creative writers.

My machine, a T-Model, is one of the last that can be disastrously rattled by power surges, lurking static electricity and crowd noises. Within a year, they say, I will be in a foolproof mode and the old hovering terror will be a tale to amuse young assistant city editors.

But I will remember the bad times with a kind of affection. Last year, I finished a piece about John Glenn, symbol of an age of marvels, and leaned back to read it. The chair squeaked. The squeak was eerily visible as a zig-zag across the screen, and Glenn was gone with Frost's science fiction.

(*Richmond Times-Dispatch*)

World Priorities 1983

□ The cost of a single new nuclear submarine equals the annual education budget of 23 developing countries with 160 million school-age children.
 □ The USSR, which spent \$1.3 trillion between 1960-81 on the military, now ranks 25th among 142 countries in economic-social performance.
 □ Among 20 developing countries with the largest foreign debt, arms imports between 1976 and 1980 were equivalent to 20 percent of the increase in debt in that period.

□ Every minute 30 children die for want of food and inexpensive vaccines, and every minute the world's military budget absorbs \$1.3 million of the public treasure.
 □ The US now devotes over \$200 billion a year to military defense against foreign enemies, but 45% of Americans are afraid to go out alone at night within 1 mile of their homes.
 □ In a year when US farmers were paid to take nearly 100 million acres of cropland out of production, 450 million people in the world are starving.

—World Military and Social Expenditures 1983

CHUCK STONE

Keep on, Jesse

The parallel is irresistible. Syria's release of Navy Lt. Robert Goodman Jr. stunned America's politicians.

But no more than a football season jolted football fans with upsets by wild card teams and underdogs.

That biggest presidential underdog candidate of them all, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, pulled off the 1984 campaign's first political upset by plowing through the Gipper's foreign policy defenses with the fluid ferocity of a Miami Hurricane running back.

If you listen to Reagan, he makes chutzpah sound like an exercise in pudicity.

He said he was "delighted" at Goodman's release (even though his administration virtually did nothing to effect it), conceded "the effort of the Rev. Jesse Jackson" (even though he snubbed Jackson), and called for "peace in Lebanon" (even though he has escalated that war like an El Salvador general on a rampage).

Whatever differences of opinion may separate experts on opposite sides of the merits of Jackson's actions, seven points must be acknowledged:

- 1.) Jackson's presidential campaign has been catapulted to a higher threshold of credibility.
- 2.) Jackson's stock has soared among black voters who have been confused by self-serving black leaders.
- 3.) Jackson has raised the partisan ante in the Middle East poker game among the other seven Democratic presidential candidates.
- 4.) Jackson has strengthened his claim as a successor to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as a steward of peace.
- 5.) Reagan's failure in the Lebanon crisis has been dramatically highlighted.
- 6.) The Syrian government scored a diplomatic coup by appearing to be reasonable and

humanitarian and at the same time, "sticking it" to their antagonist, Reagan. ("Mischief, thou art afoot," snickered Marc Antony. "Take thou what course thou wilt.")

7.) Third World ties are alive and well and living in the black American community.

The power of point seven is consistently ignored by most American analysts and commentators.

It's understandable. The notion of black Americans subliminally identified with Third World aspirations is disconcerting.

And many would like to believe, fragile.

Yet, if the charismatic Jackson's eloquence is stripped of its theological circumlocutions, a hard-core reality survives — he succeeded primarily in his "mission impossible" because of his blackness.

A Lt. Goodman statement confirmed Jackson's prestige "over here."

"Over here" is North Africa, as meaningful to many black Americans as Ireland is to many Irish-Americans, Italy to many Italian-Americans, Israel to many Jewish-Americans and Poland to many Polish-Americans.

The composition of Jackson's delegation also took cognizance of Third World sensitivities.

Among the clergymen, which included the Rev. William Howard (former president of the National Council of Churches) and the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, (former aide to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.), Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan represented Jackson's effort to communicate more persuasively with Muslim Syria.

The influential Farrakhan is an enormously popular speaker at many national black organizational meetings.

One question remains: Would Jackson have gone to Syria if Lt. Goodman had been white? Rephrase the question. Would Jackson had

gone if he had not been a presidential candidate?

Anybody who knows the magnitude of the Jackson ego would quickly answer "yes" to the second question.

As for the first question, many people sincerely believe that if Goodman had been white, the Reagan administration, which has spent four years demonstrating its contempt for blacks, might have exerted a more vigorous public effort to get him released.

Jesse's decision to travel Paul's road to Damascus was triply motivated — as a political candidate, as a humanitarian and as an American painfully disenchanted with Reagan's 19th century gunboat diplomacy.

Does Jackson have his "own agenda," as columnist Joseph Kraft charges?

All candidates have their "own agendas" of self-preservation. Otherwise, they would politically self-destruct.

A classic example of a politician changing his agenda to fit the country's changing mood is Democratic candidate Walter F. Mondale's flip-flop on the Marines in Lebanon.

On Monday, Dec. 26, Mondale said of the 1,800 Marines in Lebanon, "I would not pull them out of Lebanon now."

Five days later, on Dec. 31, Mondale said, "it's time to withdraw the Marines from Lebanon."

What happened in five days? A poll? Jackson's headline-grabbing trip to Syria?

Jesse Jackson's courageous opposition to Reagan's disastrous policies in Lebanon recalls Martin Luther King Jr.'s early opposition to the Vietnam War.

With that legacy, a master political stroke has kept the faith. Keep on keepin' on, Jesse.

Philadelphia Daily News

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President Reagan has taken the blame for the mistakes that permitted the kamikaze attack on Marine base in Lebanon and I am inclined to believe him. It is conceivable, of course, that he will sometime claim to the Supreme Court that the confession was made under duress and without being properly advised of his rights. This, after all is the same Ronald Reagan who was going to reduce the deficit. But for the present I think we should take him at his word. Having a president claim guilt is a somewhat novel circumstance and what has been lost in the aftershock is what we should do about it. The tenor of the press and political reaction seems to be that this clears the matter up and we can move smartly on to other things. But as a former military person -- twice thrown off courts martial by preemptory challenge from the prosecutor, I think that the interests of discipline and order in the ranks demand that the Uniform Code of Military Justice not blink at the mere fact that the culprit happens to be commander in chief. A Ronald Reagan court martial would make a hell of a movie if nothing else.

Unfortunately, there is no precedent for this sort of thing, unless, of course, one substitutes impeachment for a military trial, in which case a number of additional charges could be added.

Actually, I find the question of who did what in Lebanon or the Pentagon far less interesting than the fact that we have now a clear demonstration of how Nixon went wrong. If the poor fellow had only taken full blame for Watergate early in the proceedings he would now be living in honor in California instead of in shame in New Jersey. Reagan showed how, by the clever blending of the role of magistrate and perpetrator, you can, in effect, pardon oneself. It helps, to be sure, to have a thoroughly gullible press willing to call a snake a rose on the reliable assurances of the White House press office.

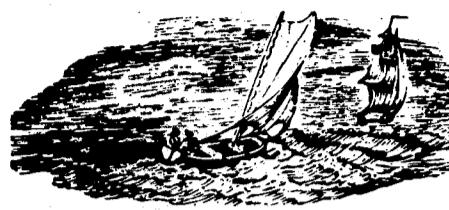
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Jesse Jackson won himself a wildcard slot in the Democratic playoffs with his negotiations for the release of Lt. Goodman. There no is quibble here that he deserved at least the MVP of the Week award, but rather more was made of the matter than the facts justified. One morning I picked up my Washington Post to find almost the entire op-ed page devoted to discussion of Jackson.

Jackson may as well enjoy this while he can. He is enough of a media junkie to understand, however, that there is an ebb and flow to these things and that while journalists have a seemingly infinite capacity for reiterating the obvious, they do get bored. It is possible, in fact, that Jackson's new-won attention is in part a reaction to the clear boredom of the press with Mondale and Glenn. The realization that everything there is to say about these two has already been written eleven months before

TOPICS

Sam Smith



the election is not a happy prospect in the face of daily deadlines.

Jackson's successful negotiation was admirable but reflects as much as anything, facts understood by every modern activist: governing is too important to leave to the government and you don't have to be in government to govern.

The media, the bureaucracy and politicians don't generally understand this but most contemporary activism is a form of extra-official governance. The nuclear freeze and disarmament movements are classic examples of the moment. The remarkable efforts of a small group of activists in Washington to raise the nation's consciousness of the plight of the homeless is another, that would be given more attention if Mitch Snyder were running for president. The techniques vary -- from demonstrations to law suits to initiative to, in the case in point, negotiation. What Jackson did was not that extraordinary in such a context, but merely another useful example of how to deal with the arthritic and autocratic governments that run most of the world including Syria and the United States. Our salvation depends in part on the success of a multi-national humanistic rebellion against the rules, procedures, assumptions, values and habits of traditional government. This rebellion is quite unlike a conventional coup or revolution because its success will have to be judged not by who is in power but by how many are.

That the media fails to get the drift of this is understandable. Imagine, for example, reading the Joseph Kraft of Renaissance days. Some of the greatest movements of history have lacked a good lead and a solid news peg.

Meanwhile, I am left with these haunting thoughts of Pacific News Service associate editor Pamela Douglas, who wrote recently of the dichotomy between the rise of black political leaders and the reality of life for blacks like the children she found who, after their mother had been evicted, had nothing to eat for three days but Kool Aid. Douglas wrote:

"Let them eat heros," might be the motto. Some of the glory might translate to practical salvation. But the harvest is still bitter sweet. *** We risk feasting amidst a famine. It's that irony, and not the euphoria of victory alone, that welcomes 1984 in black America."

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Thanks to Mayor Fraser of Minneapolis who vetoed an extremely broadly-worded anti-pornography bill. Fraser said in his message that "the definition of pornography in the ordinance is so broad and so vague as to make it impossible for a bookseller, movie theater operator or museum director to adjust his or her conduct in order to keep from running afoul of its proscriptions."

There is among some otherwise progressive groups a rather cavalier attitude towards freedom of speech. The anti-pornographers perhaps draw the issue most prominently, but they are not alone, as the ACLU found in the Skokie case.

The problem, I think, stems from the fact that freedom of speech hasn't been much of an issue since the 1960s. But it is worth remembering that it was a free speech movement that helped to get the sixties rolling and it was the fact that others before had beaten back the censors and controllers such as McCarthy that allowed an environment infinitely more hospitable to new ideas than was the case in the fifties. Without a difficult and painful battle for free speech, it is not likely that the civil rights and women's movements would have gone as far as they have. It is ironic and sad that some activists seem to regard the First Amendment as less than relevant to their concerns.

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The FBI is once again raising questions about its own sense of ethics following indictments against three judges and seven other persons in Cook County. Among the complaints: a judge's chamber was bugged, one judge worked as an agent, and 100 sham cases were brought into court with agents pretending to be victims, defendants, defense lawyers and prosecutors. Says Al Hofeld, president of the Illinois Bar Association, "Putting 100 or more

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I talk with young people all the time and they say they are bored. The only way we can have a real nonviolent peace movement, or any movement, is by wooing them away from what they are doing because your movement is more interesting than their lives. If we can come up with something a little better than boring then maybe we can move them - Joan Baez

I would not lead you into the promised land if I could, because if I could lead you in, someone else could lead you out. -- Eugene Debs

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God. Certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race -- Woodrow Wilson, speaking to a group of newly naturalized citizens.

Habit is habit, and not to be flung out of the window by any man, but coaxed down the stairs one step at a time -- Mark Twain

sham cases in the system seems to be tampering with the courtroom. There's another problem of having witnesses testify and perjure themselves and of people going free who should not go free because the FBI wants to see if a judge will take a fix. That is harmful to the public at large." In a 1979 Illinois Supreme Court case that may prove applicable, the majority said that "The integrity of the courtroom is so vital to the health of our legal system that no violation of that integrity, no matter what its motivation, can be condoned or ignored."

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Keep your eye on Boston's new mayor, Raymond L Flynn, who set an unusual tone in his campaign of emphasizing

urban populist issues and to help those left out of the city's downtown business boom. If he means what he says, there may be some new ways of doing city business in Boston. Incidentally, the New York Times reported that Flynn was going to appoint Raymond Dooley, a former member of SDS, as second in command.

<<<>>>

One of the few remaining joys of reading the Village Voice is gone -- at least temporarily. The funny fury of Alexander Cockburn has been silenced by that paper on the grounds that he accepted a \$10,000 grant from the Institute of Arab Studies to travel to the Middle East and write a book about the invasion

of Lebanon. He failed to tell the editor about this. Cockburn told the Washington Post that "There's a lot of pompous hand-wringing because the word Arab excites deep prejudice and mistrust. If you look at the Israeli side of the ledger, people are not held to any standard at all. Commentary magazine is published by the American Jewish Committee and no one says the people writing there are tainted." Meanwhile, over at the Wall Street Journal, where Cockburn also writes a column, editor Robert Bartley said he didn't plan to fire Cockburn: "My first reaction was that of all the things I could imagine Alex doing, this seems relatively innocuous." Cockburn reportedly will now write for the Nation. The Voice's dreariness will increase another notch.

"Food Vulnerability Briefing" or Why I'd Rather Be a Chicken

By Dave Lehman

The Federal Emergency Management Agency, FEMA, has added a corollary to Deputy Undersecretary of Defense T.K. Jones' famous statement that all we need to survive a nuclear attack is enough shovels. FEMA now tells us that the U.S. agricultural system will be able to feed the survivors of a full-scale nuclear attack, if only there are enough tin cans to go around. This is just one of the astounding revelations contained in a 1982 FEMA White House "Food Vulnerability Briefing" for Cabinet members and the National Security Council recently released to the press by Rep. Tom Harkin (D-IA).

For the purpose of its report, FEMA estimates the effects of a massive nuclear attack, totalling 6000 megatons and 1200 warheads, on U.S. agriculture. The bad news is that only 46% of the U.S. population would survive the attack. The good news is that survival rates among sheep, chickens, and steers would be significantly higher, leading to a better livestock-to-population balance than pre-attack. Similarly, crops are expected to fare relatively well, depending on the time of year of the attack. An attack on June 1st would have a worse effect than an attack in August. "Attacks during the non-growing season," according to FEMA, "would not be expected to affect future yields directly."

Almost 80% of the rural population would survive a 6000 megaton nuclear attack, FEMA estimates, so no farm labor shortage should be expected, although FEMA admits there is a risk of radiation exposure. The report continues that "the dependence on 'guest workers' for fruit and vegetable harvesting is not expected to be an additional problem following a nuclear attack. These workers should survive at least as well as the U.S. rural population, and the Department of Labor sees no reason why they would not continue to participate in U.S. harvests." There would, of course, also be new "urban migrants" to help harvest crops.

The ability of the agricultural system to feed the surviving population would actually increase over time, the FEMA report notes, because, "the numbers of survivors during the first sixty days following an attack drops over time. Thus, those who are doomed to die will be consumers for [only] part of that time."

FEMA admits that the ability of U.S. agriculture to feed the survivors will only be possible as long as there is no emergency population relocation, which is the current cornerstone of FEMA efforts. "Ironically, the relatively favorable balance between population and livestock and poultry survival rates expected under current Civil Defense capabilities could disappear under an effective crisis relocation effort."

The bright picture FEMA paints is somewhat clouded by its findings on food processing and distribution following a massive nuclear attack. FEMA warns that U.S. agriculture can expect short-term shortages of fertilizer, diesel fuel, and energy for irrigation. Worse yet, food containers would be in short supply. FEMA warns, "Frankly, the post nuclear

attack picture is not so bright in food processing. The margin of safety in the ratio of potentially surviving processing capabilities to surviving population is razor thin when compared to that of agriculture production. In addition, the availability of containers could be a serious problem for surviving food processors." Hopefully, food containers could be somewhat modified and simplified, but, "potential labor casualties [in the food-processing industry] could be a significant problem."

The FEMA report stands in stark contrast to a recent study released by five leading scientists on the atmospheric and climatic effects of a nuclear war. The study, known as the TTAPS Report after its authors, R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T.P. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack and Carl Sagan, makes the FEMA report appear not only ludicrous, but certifiably insane. The TTAPS Report warns that even a "small" nuclear war could trigger a "nuclear winter," an epoch of cold and darkness and intense radiation that would put into question the survival of the human species. The scientists based their projections on the atmospheric and climatic effects of a 5000-megaton war, using recent findings about the earth's thin layer of atmosphere. (Keep in mind that the FEMA report presupposed a 6000 megaton attack on the U.S. alone.) The scientists found that the great clouds of smoke and dust generated by such a war would reduce the amount of sunlight penetrating the earth's atmosphere to a fraction. The heavy toxic overcast would last for months, perhaps longer, making photosynthesis, and thereby all plant growth, impossible. Land temperatures would drop to 13 degrees below zero. Carl Sagan predicts that "because the temperatures would drop so catastrophically, virtually all crops and farm animals, at least in the Northern Hemisphere, would be destroyed, as would most varieties of uncultivated or undomesticated food supplies. Most human survivors would starve." Compare this to FEMA's projection that 82% of all wheat and 83% of all corn could be harvested in the U.S. following a nuclear attack. Or that 57% of all beef cattle would be available for consumption.

FEMA chides the "choruses of Cassandras" that predict "doom and gloom" for U.S. agriculture. But Sagan warns that there is a dangerous tendency to underestimate the results of nuclear explosions among scientists and policy makers. The climatic effects of nuclear war have only recently been considered. "What else have we overlooked?", Sagan asks.

Rep. Harkin called the FEMA briefing for the Presidential Cabinet "disgraceful," and added that, "with information like this, it is no wonder that there are those in our government who believe that we can win a nuclear war."

From SANE WORLD

CREEPING ESCALATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

David Helvarg

Established to help defuse the explosive crisis of Central America, the Kissinger Commission has instead increased the danger that the explosion will spread--and lead to direct U.S. military involvement on a significant scale.

Far from outlining a peaceful resolution, the Commission's report recommends continued support for the Nicaraguan "contras," new vigilance against alleged Soviet influence in the region and a vast expansion of U.S. military aid in the region, including renewal of arms shipments to Guatemala and a six-fold increase to El Salvador.

If these and other initiatives are implemented, there is a strong chance that the U.S. role will gradually escalate, even though the administration is not likely to risk any major involvement until Ronald Reagan has had his chance for re-election.

Already, the risk of such an escalation is growing, particularly in three areas -- on the ground in El Salvador, in air-support functions out of Honduras, and through the use of surrogate forces against Nicaragua.

-- In El Salvador, the number of "in-country" service people -- now around 90, including trainers, medics and embassy-based "logistics officers" -- is expected to grow. The Pentagon has requested 50 to 60 new "slots."

At the same time, the pressure to allow U.S. advisors into the field with the "Salvos," an opportunity they have been seeking for over a year, is intensifying as government troops suffer new reversals.

The Salvadoran army's 1983 summer successes, widely credited then to U.S. training, have turned out to reflect little more than the familiar war cycle there: The army advances each summer, and the guerrillas come back stronger the following fall and winter, as the rebels' recent destruction of an army base and a major bridge demonstrates.

In fact, despite over a billion dollars of U.S. aid, the Salvadoran army is in

worse shape, relative to the rebel forces, than ever. Unless the balance shifts over the next six months, the guerrillas could well take and hold one or more major towns.

Such an event could lead to an open escalation in which U.S. aircraft would be tempted to participate. The planes are certainly in the area -- on U.S. carriers off the Pacific coast and at Comayagua, the main Honduran airbase, which was recently upgraded by the United States at a cost of \$25 million.

-- In Honduras itself, army commander Gustavo Alvarez has reason to act aggressively with confidence. His country is host to over 4,000 U.S. Marines on "extended exercises," a U.S.-Salvadoran training base, U.S.-manned radar installations and 35 Blackhawk troop transport helicopters. In addition, jump-jets are stationed off the Caribbean coast, and carrier-based aircraft are nearby. Alvarez has openly threatened war with Nicaragua if the Sandinistas take measures against the Contras inside Honduras.

In any such conflict, Honduras would have to use its air force, the best in the region, as its own troops cannot match the Sandinista Army and militia. One possible result would be a decision by Managua to bring in MiG jets from Cuba, a step that the Reagan administration has already said it would consider "unacceptable." If the pattern set during the Grenada action is followed, U.S. pilots might strike Nicaraguan airfields shortly after the first MiGs arrived.

The potential U.S. role in a land-based border war between Nicaragua and Honduras was suggested in the first "Big Pine" exercise a year ago -- with American forces directing communications and logistics, and providing air and ground transport for Honduran troops.

-- Finally, and most dangerously, is the higher risk of expanding each of the region's national conflicts into a single war, a risk reflected most dramatically in the re-emergence of the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA).

Founded under U.S. sponsorship in 1963, this military alliance fell apart after the Salvadoran-Honduran "Soccer War" of 1969. It has now been revived, at the prodding of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, and officers from Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras met in Honduras last fall to study the possibility of joint military action against Nicaragua.

Thus, while the debate over direct military involvement goes on at home, on the ground in Central America the vectors are already pointing at an expanded U.S. role.

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JURY NULLIFICATION: THE POWER YOU DIDN'T KNOW YOU HAD

Stormy Mon

Before the Civil War, there was a famous court case, the Dred Scott decision, about a fugitive slave. The courts said he had to be returned to his owner like any other property. This judgement was unpopular with northern juries and they wouldn't convict others being prosecuted under similar laws.

The government saw this could get out of hand, if citizens wouldn't convict under the ever increasing laws. The juries could veto political schemes. The authorities wanted control and only wanted juries to decide the breaking of the law, not the law itself. Some judges said that since they were no longer the king's appointees, but now members of the democratic process, they could be trusted to have the citizens' best interests at heart; nullification of judge's instructions was no longer necessary. Also, it would put too great a mental strain on jurors.

This question was debated back and forth. Then in 1895 (Sparf vs. U.S. 156 U.S. 51, 1895), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that although juries have the right to ignore a judge's instructions on the law, the jury shouldn't be aware of it. The judicial hypocrisy started with this decision. If it seems strange that citizens have a right they aren't supposed to be aware of, it is strange.

Jury nullification isn't taught in compulsory government schools. The term isn't in your encyclopedia or dictionary and it's dropped from law schools and references.

All judicial mention since the 1895 Supreme Court ruling acknowledges its existence only grudgingly, and judges refuse to tell juries about the power or to allow defense attorneys to refer to it. It's treated like a haunting, persistent ghost from the past, whose rare appearances are tolerated, deliberately ignored, and certainly not encouraged.

Many of the current powers of government could be abolished if juries knew their rights and responsibilities. We see the jury veto at work in modern times, naturally without being taught. In many areas juries won't convict for marijuana and other "morals" laws, so they aren't enforced. Critics fear this will lead to anarchy and chaos. Yet in Georgia, Indiana and Maryland, the right to tell juries

about nullification is a constitutional part of the state judicial process. These states haven't suffered, and can be leaders in a citizen re-awakening.

"The Jury has a right to judge both the law as well as the fact in controversy."
-Chief Justice John Jay,
U.S. Supreme Court
Georgia v Brailsford
(3 Dallas 1, 1794)

"The jury has the right to determine both the law and the facts."
-Samuel Chase, Supreme Court Justice 1804
signer of The Declaration of Independence

"There are five separate tribunals to veto laws: representative, senate, executive, judicial and jury. It's the right and duty of juries to hold all laws invalid that are unjust or oppressive, in their opinion. If a jury does not have this right, the government is absolute and the people are slaves. Is it absurd that twelve ignorant men should have the power to judge the law, while justices learned in the law should sit by and see the law decided erroneously? The justices are untrustworthy and are fond of power and authority. To allow them to dictate the law would surrender all property, liberty and rights of the people into the hands of arbitrary power."
-Lysander Spooner "An Essay On The Trial By Jury" 1852

"Jury lawlessness is the great corrective of law in its actual administration."
-Dean Roscoe Pound,
44 AM L Rev 12 at 18 (1910)

"The jury has the power to bring in a verdict in the teeth of both law and facts."
-Oliver Wendel Holmes,
Hornung v DC 254 US 135, 138 (1920)

"If the jury feels the law is unjust, we recognize the undisputed power of the jury to acquit, even if its verdict is contrary to the law as given by the judge and contrary to the evidence. This power of the jury is not always contrary to the interests of justice."

-U.S. v Moylan 417 F.2d 1002 at 1006 (1969)

"The pages of history shine on instances of the jury's exercise of its prerogative to disregard instructions of the judge; for example, acquittals under the fugitive slave law."

-U.S. v Dougherty 473 F.2d 1113 at 1130 (1972)

None of the four references since 1895 (Pound, Holmes, Moylan and Dougherty), taken in their full context, encourage a modern jury veto. They simply recognize it as history that refuses to die. However, one modern judge stands out with common sense on the subject. In his Dougherty dissent (at 1138-44), Washington D.C. Chief Federal Judge Bazelon shows considerable courage in challenging the two-faced judicial recognition of the jury veto power by his brethren, while refusing to tell juries about it:

"Deliberate lack of candor . . . slight-of-hand . . . a haphazard process. Is it true that nullification which arises out of ignorance is in some sense more worthy than nullification which arises out of knowledge? Nullification can and should serve an important function in the criminal process. Trust in the jury is, after all, one of the cornerstones of our entire criminal jurisprudence, and if that trust is without foundation we must re-examine a great deal more than just the nullification doctrine. The noble uses of the power provide an important input to our evaluation of the substantive standards of the criminal law. The reluctance of juries to convict under the prohibition and fugitive slave laws told us much about the morality of

[Please turn to page 23]

From the Southern Libertarian Messenger

APPLE PIE

Scientists say they'll soon be able to use genetic engineering to create farm animals twice -- or even ten times -- their normal size. University of Pennsylvania researcher Ralph Brinster says the technique has already worked on mice, and tests are proceeding on rabbits, sheep and pigs. Brinster says the discovery has great promise for farmers, although he admits the day of the 40-foot cow or 10-foot pig may be a few years away.

There were no fatal accidents last year involving commercial US airlines.

SANTA GETS THE BOOT: According to the Wall Street Journal a growing number of department stores gave Santa his walking papers this season, deciding that St. Nick and his sleigh took up valuable floor space that could be used to hustle home computers and cabbage patch dolls.

Psychology Today asked its readers, "Would you rather be governed by the Harvard faculty or the first 2000 people in your local phone book?" A small minority chose the Harvard faculty, saying they feared mob rule, book burnings and Rod McKuen being named poet laureate. But a whopping 61% gave the academics thumbs down. Some said intellectuals are too arrogant; others said a government of their peers would be more democratic. And one 15-year-old said he chose the names in the phone book because "if they screw up, at least I'll know where they live, so I can get revenge."

A nationwide survey indicates that more than half of Americans favor jail terms for drunk drivers who cause serious injuries. Eight out of ten people want breath tests in accidents causing injuries and nearly two out of three say they would like to see spot checks of drivers. But the same poll found that only ten percent of the respondents wore seat belts and only 27 percent favored a mandatory seat belt law.

ANTI-NUKE DILEMMA

Sidney Lens

CHICAGO -- The peace movement may be the largest dissident force in U.S. history. And it continues to grow. But it desperately needs a few victories. The lightning rod that drew so many to the movement over the last three years was the Campaign for a Nuclear Freeze. Its call for a "bilateral, verifiable" freeze on the manufacture, testing and deployment of nuclear warheads and delivery systems hit a resonant chord with middle America, suburbia, churches, people in their 30s, 40s and 50s.

This movement has had a flavor of respectability -- very different from the 1960s, when pot-smoking young people were shouting "one, two, three, four, we don't want your goddam war." At least 20 million people have signed Freeze petitions recently, and in some polls up to two-thirds of the Americans surveyed have registered approval of the idea.

But the Freeze movement has been unable to win any genuine triumphs. True, the House of Representatives, after a long debate and with numerous amendments, did vote 278-149 for a Freeze resolution last May. But it was a hollow success, for the House quickly voted to go ahead with production of the destabilizing MX missile, and continues to vote funds for Cruise and Pershing II missiles, which is causing turmoil throughout Europe.

Apart from its failure in Congress -- let alone its failure to move President Reagan -- the Freeze campaign is bedeviled by political confusion. "Verifiable freeze" sounds like a simple concept, one Reagan and Andropov could negotiate in a telephone conversation, but it actually presents a number of difficulties which allow Congressmen and others to justify their ambivalence.

Verifying the testing and deployment of land-based missiles is relatively simple, since seismic detectors and satellites let each superpower know what the other is doing. But verifying the manufacture of nuclear weapons would require hundreds, if not thousands, of inspectors in the "other's" territory, and verifying deployment on nuclear submarines poses even greater difficulties.

For these reasons, the strategy committee of the Freeze campaign is now reviewing its position on "verification." Chances are they will suggest a freeze only on testing, or on testing and deployment of land-based missiles. Some have suggested dropping the whole idea of verification -- first, because it has been the U.S. government's excuse for failure to arrive at a disarmament agreement for over 35 years, and second, because the "overkill" capacity of each of the superpowers is now so mammoth that any cheating would be insignificant. Jerome B. Wiesner, a member of the National Security Council under President Kennedy, has gone further, urging the United States to declare a

unilateral moratorium -- which would require no verification -- and invite Moscow to follow suit.

With the present uncertainty around the Freeze movement, more radical elements are coming to the fore. There has been a sizeable growth in civil disobedience. On June 20, nearly 1,500 activists were arrested in 18 states for trying -- symbolically -- to stop operations at military installations or weapons research and production facilities. Thousands more participated without being arrested, many of them Catholics influenced by the recent Bishops' statement against nuclear weapons. Such actions seem certain to increase in the coming months, especially if the Reagan Administration continues its hard-line policy on "arms control."

Also more vocal nowadays are the "new abolitionists," who call for total abolition of nuclear weapons. This group, which includes such prestigious figures as Benjamin Spock, Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, Ramsey Clark, and Nobel Laureate Salvatore Luria and George Wald, is not yet an active independent force, but its influence is felt in the civil-disobedience actions and in the peace community. And it represents strong pressure for a more radical Freeze movement. Another group sounding a bit louder is the left wing of the peace movement, which scorns elections or lobbying as weapons of the movement. "The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act a year later," write Norman Solomon and Ada Sanchez, two well known anti-nuclear figures, "were more the result of direct-action campaigns in Birmingham and Selma than of well-heeled lobbying efforts at the Capitol." They speak for a large segment of peace activists.

This lack of unity over tactics and strategy makes it extremely doubtful that the movement will play an effective role in the 1984 elections. It is more suited to the politics of the street than the politics of the ballot box.

One final factor that must be considered in weighing the peace movement today -- perhaps an overriding one -- is Central America. If U.S. troops are sent to fight in Nicaragua or Guatemala or El Salvador, the peace movement would doubtless shift gears much as it did in 1965, when Lyndon Johnson sent troops to Vietnam. It would play down the Freeze campaign in favor of a campaign against the war in Central America.

The peace movement is far from dead -- or even sleeping -- but it is clearly marking time, waiting to re-evaluate its tactics and strategy, and waiting for history to give it a new mandate.

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WEATHER REPORT

Cont'd

WATT ON THE LECTURE TOUR

Former Secretary of the Interior James Watt is hitting the campus lecture circuit and is commanding as much as \$15,000 in honoraria and fees for one night appearances. Among campuses included in his current tour are the University of Miami, Texas A&M, Fordham and Marquette.

CUOMO PROPOSES STATE ERA

New York governor Mario Cuomo has come out in favor of a state constitutional amendment on equal right for women. The governor plans to ask for passage of the amendment by the state legislature this year with a ballot proposition on the matter in 1985. As elsewhere, NOW is opposing the move with the complaint that it will detract from efforts to get a national ERA passed. Said NYC NOW president Barbara Rochman, "The policy was to press for a federal ERA and not get diverted into state ERAs. It's a matter of what strategically was best."

WOMEN GET LESS STUDENT AID THAN MEN

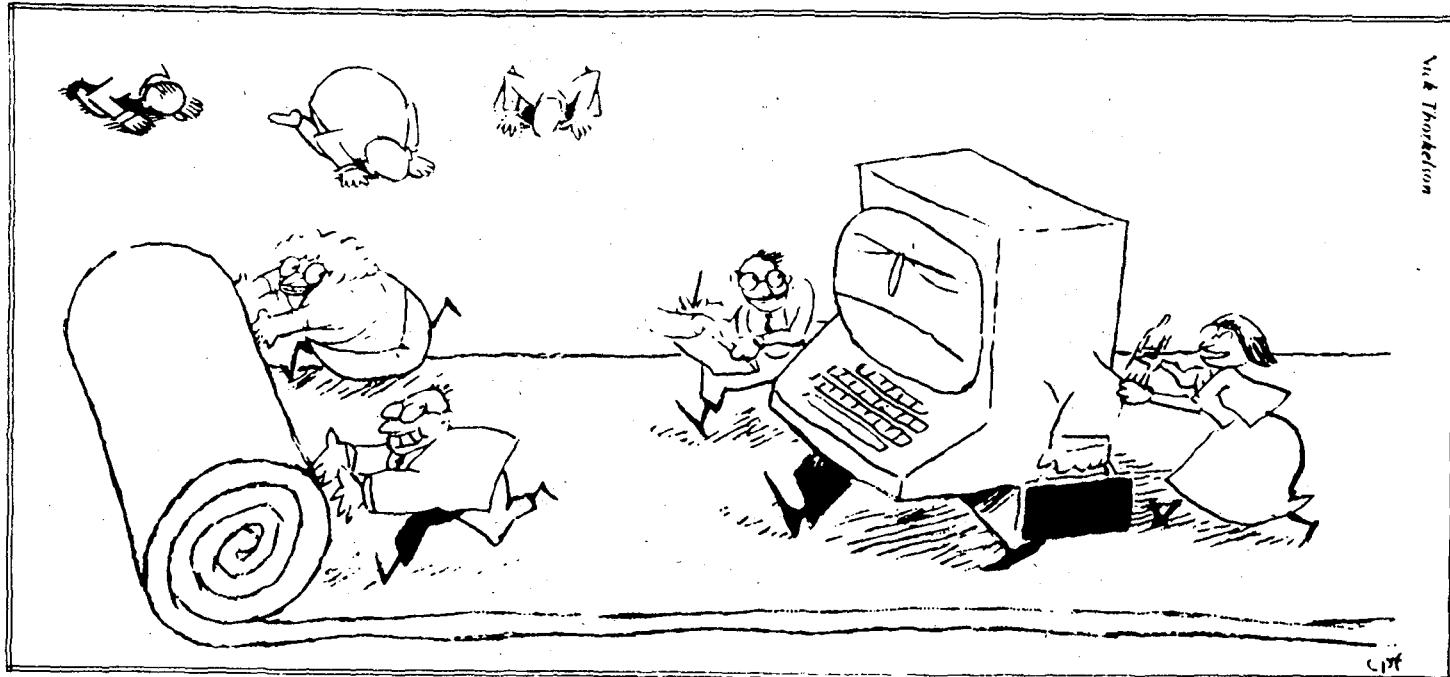
Women students often get less financial aid than men, even though they tend to need more aid money, according to a new US Department of Education study. For the 1981-82 school year, women students got only 72 cents in grant money for every \$1 given to men, yet women earned only 68 cents for every dollar earned by men students.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION LOOMS

In what may be the most undercover story of our times, the effort to call a new constitutional convention in order to write a balanced budget amendment needs the approval of just two more states. Stanford law professor Gerald Gunther thinks such a convention could turn into a "constitutional catastrophe" that could spell doom for the bill of rights. He is worried that it could turn into a runaway body with nothing to stop the delegates from throwing out the entire constitution and starting from scratch.

PREPARING FOR WORLD WAR FOUR

The Reagan administration is reportedly going ahead with plans for World War Four. That's the conflict after the superpowers hurl their 50,000 nuclear warheads at each other. Pentagon strategists want to keep a Poseidon missile submarine in reserve under the Arctic ice cap for "post-attack



coercion" against what's left of the Soviet Union.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION DRIVE STARTS IN UK

A major drive has started in England for freedom of information in national and local government. England is far behind the United States in its freedom of information rights. The effort is being led by Des Wilson, who recently ran a successful movement for lead-free gasoline and who is head of the British Friends of the Earth. Wilson has been a journalist, director of a housing reform movement and sometime consultant to the DC Gazette. Advising the FOIA effort is Ralph Nader. The 1984 Campaign for Freedom of Information is headquartered at 2 Northdown St, London N1 9BG.

THE ECONOMY OF NICARAGUA

The arch-conservative Washington Times, of all places, ran an informative interview with Nicaragua's vice minister of finance, William Hupper, in its Jan. 6 edition. In it, Hupper notes that despite American sanctions against his government, Nicaragua continues to sell sugar cane, coffee, cotton, fish and meat to the US. In 1981, Nicaragua had its greatest amount of exports to the US ever. Thirty-two percent of its goods were sold to this country, although that percentage has dropped since. For

example, the Reagan administration has cut the sugar can quota by more than half. Hupper also says that the same proportion of the national economy is nationalized as was the case under Somoza -- 25%, and that 85% of Nicaragua's foreign aid comes from non-socialist countries.

TSONGAS TO STEP DOWN

Senator Paul Tsongas, one of the most progressive members of the US Senate announced last month that he would not run for reelection this year because of health reasons. Tsongas is 43. He did not disclose the nature of his health problems.

PEOPLES COURT

LIVE AND IN PERSON

A group of entrepreneurs have set up a private court system, modelled on TV's "People's Court," that will, according to its organizers, "supplement the court system as Federal Express supplements the postal system." Cases coming before Judicate, which will use retired judges will cost between \$600 and \$1000 and claims are expected to range between \$5000 and \$150,000. The operation will begin in Philadelphia with two judges who are stepping down from the public bench. Thirty-seven cases have already come in.

WOMEN'S AMNESTY

A French women's group has launched an appeal for the release of all women who are being held as political prisoners throughout the world. To begin its campaign, the group has compiled a list of 500 such prisoners. Info: MLF International, 12 Rue de la Chaise, 75007, Paris, France.

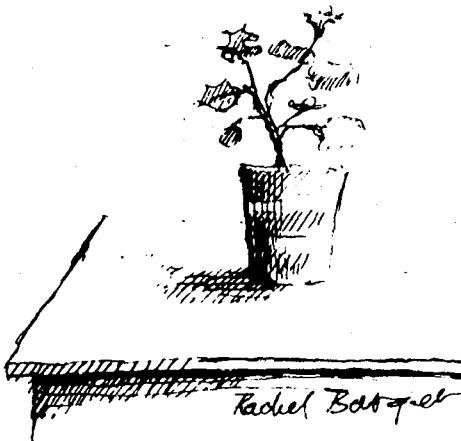
ENCAMPMENT TO PROTEST ELF

A group called the Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project Elf has announced plans for an encampment beginning May 28 to protest the construction of Project Elf, the Navy's first strike one-way transmitter for the new fleet of

Trident nuclear submarines. Project Elf is being constructed in Northern Wisconsin. Referred to by the Navy as a "beeper" for nuclear subs, it is designed to rally quickly the vessels for a coordinated surprise attack. Elf would summon the Tridents to the near surface where other communication systems could give them the fire order. Info: WPPSPE, 1016 N. 9th St. Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233.

SMART GETTING SMARTER

A study by the Association of American Colleges found adult education classes are increasing the gap between the haves and the have-nots when it comes to schooling. In all, the report says, 13% of adult Americans are enrolled in some form of part-time education or training. The figure rises to 20% of those with some college education, 26% for college graduates and 31% for those with five years or more of grad school.



SHOP TALK

ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON elected chair of the ACLU's national advisory council.

DONNA ALLEN, director of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, taking a sabbatical during 1984.

8K more RAM, requiring cereal interface, added to family of erstwhile Gazette editor CARL BERGMAN and MARGIE ODLE. Software dubbed Sydney Bess.

JURY Cont'd

those laws. A doctrine that can provide us with such critical insights should not be driven underground. We should grant the defendant's request for nullification instruction, or at least permit the defendants to argue the question before the jury. If revolution against the government has reached a point where a jury would be unwilling to convict, we would be far better advised to ponder the implications of that result than to spend our time devising stratagems which let us pretend that the power of nullification does not even exist."

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